

25 CENTS.

The ARENA

Edited by
JOHN EMERY MCLEAN.

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF SOCIAL ADVANCE.

DECEMBER, 1899.

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Ex-U. S. Judge, Montana Supreme Court

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ANNOUNCEMENT.

In December, 1889, THE ARENA was founded and the first issue published. The offices of the publication were opened in the Pierce Building, Copley Square, Boston, Mass., and the business continued at that address up to the September issue of 1899, completing ten years, lacking but two months.

The business interests and good-will of THE ARENA COMPANY have been purchased by the undersigned, and the magazine is now published from these headquarters and edited by JOHN EMERY McLEAN, late editor of *Mind*.

This notice will inform all agents, dealers, subscribers, contributors, and others of the new address, at which THE ARENA begins a new era of its history, no less ready than ever to offer the people the best thought on all sides of the vital questions of the day. Attention is called to the very attractive inducements offered on other pages to new subscribers.

Address all communications to

THE ALLIANCE PUBLISHING CO.,

"LIFE" BUILDING,

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The Times (LONDON)

"THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA" AT HALF PRICE

On the 23rd of March, 1898, *The Times* (London) announced that it had made arrangements with Messrs. A. & C. Black, the publishers of the ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA, by which a special edition of that work was printed for *The Times*. The sets thus obtained were offered by *The Times* at a discount of over one-half from the regular price. In this way the original edition of the greatest of reference libraries, hitherto obtainable only by the wealthy, was brought within the reach of all. For exactly one year this offer of *The Times* remained open to the British public. When it was withdrawn, March 22nd, 1899, the enterprise had proven such a success, and the number of sets of the ENCYCLOPÆDIA

BRITANNICA purchased was so great, that the printers and binders of Great Britain had been left far behind. The printing and binding orders consequent upon the sale far exceeded any that had ever been given before anywhere in the world. Over 500,000 volumes of the great work had actually been purchased. *The names of a few of the purchasers appear on the last page of this announcement.*

The last English order has finally been filled, and *The Times* is therefore now in a position to offer the work in the United States. *The Times* has no doubt that there are thousands of persons here, just as there were in Great Britain, who have desired to possess a set of the genuine edition of the ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA, but have been prevented from doing so by the price. To all such this offer of the work at less than half the publishers' original price will be most welcome.

A further reason for the offer of *The Times* is the desire to relieve the ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA in the United States from a certain odium that has possibly become attached to it as a result of the many spurious, mutilated, or "photographed" editions which have hitherto been widely sold in America. Probably over 400,000 sets of the so-called ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA have been sold in this country, far the greater portion of which were mutilated or un-

copyrighted editions, from which Messrs. A. & C. Black, the publishers, who invested in the work over \$1,100,000, received no benefit whatsoever. None of the editions sold in this country were genuine except those that were printed by the Messrs. A. & C. Black. In view of all this, *The Times* has decided to offer in the United States a limited number of sets of the genuine authorized edition of the ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA at the same price as in England and with the duty paid.

The whole body of human knowledge has changed since the first edition of the BRITANNICA appeared, in 1771, but the enlargements and revisions of the work have kept pace with the march of learning. Through all the editions the fine sense of responsibility which animates "A Society of Gentlemen," as the quaint title-page describes the first editors, has proved a lasting tradition. No contributor has ever been invited to write upon a subject which he had not made peculiarly his own, and no personal or corporate bias has ever been suffered to interfere with the honesty of the work. The Ninth Edition of the ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA once assumed, and has firmly maintained, its position of paramount authority. Upon its own plane, and in its own field, it has absolutely no competitor; its plane and its field are, indeed, of its own creation, for no other library of reference has ever been planned upon so comprehensive a scale, or constructed with so uncompromising a determination to make the very best possible book without counting the cost. Smaller works of reference are so much smaller that it would be grossly unfair, even to the best of them, to compare them with the ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA.

These are the elementary and undisputed claims which the ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA makes for itself. The question which this announcement presents to the reader's mind is not whether he wants the ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA rather than some other work of its sort—



LORD KELVIN



ARTHUR T. HABLE
PRF. OF VALE

"THE TIMES"

here are no other works of its sort—but whether he wants such a work at all; and to that question the reader can give only an affirmative answer.

THE CONTRIBUTORS

The ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA is so well known that this announcement need do no more than set forth the reduction in price effected by *The Times*. But it may also be of interest to recall three facts in this connection:

First. The work is the product of the greatest men and best writers of the nineteenth century.

Among those who give the volumes their preéminence are such men as Lord Kelvin, the Right Hon. James Bryce, the Very Rev. Dean Farrar, the Right Hon. John Morley, the Right Hon. Frederick Max-Müller, professor Huxley, Matthew Arnold and Professor J. Ray Lankester. These are but a half-dozen among the great writers who contributed the 100 signed articles. Every contributor

as selected simply because he was better qualified to write on his particular subject than any one else in the world.

Second. It has, perhaps, been commonly believed that the ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA was essentially a British work. As a matter of fact, hundreds of articles were contributed by Americans, including such well-known writers as Arthur T. Hadley, resident of Yale University; Gen. Francis A. Walker, late President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Professor Simon Newcomb, Director of the U. S. Naval Observatory; Professor Charles A. Briggs, of Union Theological Seminary; Professor H. A. Rowland, Johns Hopkins University; Justin Winsor, librarian of Harvard University; Charles K. Adams, President of the University of Wisconsin; Whitelaw Reid, Editor of the *New York Tribune*; Professor William D. Whitney, Editor-in-Chief of The Century Dictionary; the Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, senator and historian. These are examples of the Americans whose work is to be found in the ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA. In short, the whole work represents the highest scholarship of the entire English-speaking race.

Third. The ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA is emphatically a book to read with enjoyment, as well as a book to be consulted as an authority. Thus the article on New Orleans, by George Washington, is as fascinating as one of his stories; the article on Pitt, by Lord Macaulay, is in the same brilliant style as his History of England; the

review of the life and poetry of Keats, by Swinburne, is of the keenest interest; and the article by Robert Louis Stevenson is as delightful reading as his novels. The same may be said of the contributions of Mrs. Humphry Ward, of Edward Everett Hale, of Andrew Lang, of Grant Allen and of scores of others.

If any one wishes a list of the contributors of the 1,100 signed articles in the ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA, and will address a letter to that effect to The Times, American office, 290 Broadway, N. Y., The Times will take pleasure in forwarding it. The portraits shown in this announcement are those of a few of the contributors to the ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA.

AN URGENT NEED

The Ninth Edition of the ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA is the largest single venture that any publishing house ever attempted, actually costing over \$1,100,000. It consists of no less than 22,000 pages, or 30,000,000 printed words and 10,000 illustrations. The mere size of the work was enough to make it expensive. Furthermore, it was written by the great men of our day—men whose writings were in high demand, and who received for their contributions as much as if their articles had been separately published in the form of a book.

The late Adam Black, head of the house of A. & C. Black, publishers of the ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA, did not believe that the Ninth Edition could possibly repay the immense outlay it involved, and he sold out his share in the business in order that he might not be involved in disaster. His partners believed that the edition would pay its way, but they did not think it prudent to print a great number of copies. The work was issued a volume at a time, and before the last volume was published, it became necessary to print more copies of the first. Since then one volume or another has always been on the press. This was, of course, piecemeal work, and consequently expensive; for in no other business is there so great a difference between cost of production on a large scale, and cost of production on a small scale, as in the publishing business. By printing a whole edition, as was done for *The Times*, the cost of each copy is very materially reduced, and the larger the edition, the greater the saving on each individual set.

In this case not only was the edition a large one, but was so large as to dwarf all previous printing and binding orders ever given, either in Europe or America.

The publishers' price for the ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA was £37, or \$179.45, and thou-



HON. JOHN MORLEY



DEAN FARRAR



PROF. W. D. WHITNEY

"THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA"

sands of copies were bought by people who could, without inconvenience, pay that large sum. Others had to resist their desire to possess the most famous of modern works. They could, to be sure, go to a library from time to time and consult the work, but that is an unsatisfactory way to make use of a book. It is like going to the nearest river to draw water, and nowadays people want running water in their houses. There was, in fact, urgent need of a work as authoritative as the ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA at a moderate price.

A GREAT OPPORTUNITY

A cheap imitation was not at all the end in view, and yet it was not easy at first to see how the price could be materially reduced, without making an inferior article.

Two things, however, could be done, and were; and they have enabled *The Times* to offer the work at less than half the publishers' price. First, one unprecedentedly large edition was made, printed all at the same time, with the large saving described above; second,

the work was offered directly to the people, without payment of any commission whatsoever to agents, booksellers, or middlemen. In the ordinary way when a man pays £37 for a book, he really gives the publisher only £20 or £25, and he spends £10 or £15 in hiring a man to persuade him to buy the book. In this case the sets go direct from the publisher to the purchaser, without any intervening profit.

This is, briefly, the explanation of the remarkable achievement by which this standard library of reference is brought within the reach of the larger public. There is no change in the work itself, to offset this remarkable diminution of price. The volumes are in every respect as desirable as those which have been sold at double the price. There has been no condensation, no abridgment, no omission. Every word, every illustration, every map, every element of value is preserved intact. The paper is as good, the press work is as good, the binding is as good; there is not the most minute cheapening of the product, to offset against the remarkable diminution of the price.

GENUINE EDITION

Moreover, and most important of all, the sets offered by *The Times* are the only ones now fur-

nished to any one by Messrs. A. & C. Black, publishers, of London and Edinburgh, who expended the immense sum of \$1,100,000 on the work. These sets are not only authorized, but are printed and published by Messrs. Black themselves.

MONTHLY PAYMENTS.

The offer made by *The Times* is not addressed merely to those persons who can conveniently pay the full price at one time. Upon the receipt of \$5.10 (one guinea), the balance to be paid in monthly instalments of \$5.10 (one guinea) each, the complete twenty-five volumes will be sent to the purchaser. Any one who desires to avail himself of this method of monthly payment has only to fill in the order form which appears at the end of this announcement, and send it, accompanied by a cheque, or other form of remittance of \$5.10, to the American Office of *The Times*, 290 Broadway (Dun Building), New York. The complete set of twenty-five volumes will then be sent to the purchaser who will enjoy the use of the ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA while he is paying for it.

ALFRED C. SWINBURNE

The number of sets that *The Times* can offer in America is limited, and will be distributed in the order of application. Those, therefore, who wish to secure a set of the genuine ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA should send in their orders promptly.

At this price, and upon these terms of payment, no one who acts at once need deny himself the privilege of possessing the greatest reference library in the world.

THE NEW SUPPLEMENT.

The Times takes pleasure in making the important announcement that under its arrangements with Messrs. A. & C. Black, the publishers, *The Times* has undertaken the preparation of a SUPPLEMENT to the Ninth Edition of the ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA. This new work is designed primarily for the benefit of purchasers of the *Times* issue. More than that, purchasers who now order the ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA will not only obtain the 25 volumes at less than half the publishers' original price, but will also secure the right to purchase the forthcoming SUPPLEMENT at a much lower price than that at which it will be supplied to the general public.

The SUPPLEMENT is being prepared under the editorial charge of SIR DONALD MACKEN-

LORD RAYLEIGH



PROF. MAX-MÜLLER



EDWARD C. HALE

THE TIMES" AND "THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA"

MR WALLACE, K.C.I.E., and ARTHUR T. HADLEY, LL.D., President of Yale University. They will be assisted by the ablest scholars and writers in every department of art, science, and litera-

ture, whether in Europe or America. In short, the SUPPLEMENT will maintain the same position of paramount authority as does the ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA.

A glance at a few among the many names in the lists of purchasers of *The Times* issue of the ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA at less than half price, shows conclusively how widely *The Times* offer has been appreciated. The numbers after the names show the sequence in which the orders were received. Men and women in every walk of life have eagerly availed themselves of this opportunity, and the example is one that will doubtless be followed by many in the United States.

SUBSCRIBER	NO. OF ORDER	SUBSCRIBER	NO. OF ORDER
Herbert Spencer	653	The Marquis of Salisbury, Premier	13,021
Mr. Justin McCarthy, M. P.	2,873	Rudyard Kipling	13,083
Lord Kelvin	3,009	Chief Dinizulu	13,863
I. S. H. Prince Louis of Battenburg	3,080	His Grace the Duke of Northumberland	13,892
Alfred A. Rothschild	3,262	The Rt. Hon. the Lord Chancellor	14,348
The Rt. Hon. Gerald Balfour	5,805	James Bryce, M.P.	15,099
Princess Louise, daughter of the Queen	5,812	Mrs. Humphry Ward	15,436
The Rt. Hon. Viscount Curzon	7,535	The Rajah of Parikhemide	16,333
Sir Edwin Arnold	7,975	D'Oyly Carte	16,904
The Earl of Dunraven	9,210	Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Exeter	17,917
The Rt. Hon. the Lord Chief Justice	9,826	Friedrich Krupp (Krupp Gun Works)	20,020
His Highness Thakore Sahib of Gondal	12,953	Sir Thomas Lipton	20,303

The Times has no doubt that the purchasers in America will be equally notable.

Sets of the work in the different styles of binding may be examined at the American Office of *The Times*, Room 313, No. 290 Broadway (Dun Building), New York.

A Table of the Principal Contents of the ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA, and a Pamphlet containing Specimen Pages, Coloured Plates, and Brief Extracts from the Work, will be sent, free, upon application to the American Office of *The Times*, 290 Broadway, New York.

Prices for Cash Payments

Cloth Binding, \$82.45 (£17) [the Publishers' price was £27], and with the Bookcase, \$97.00 (£20).
 Half Morocco, \$101.85 (£25) [the Publishers' price was £45], and with the Bookcase \$116.40 (£24).
 Full Morocco, \$135.80 (£28), Full Gilt Edges, a sumptuous binding, fitted for the richest collection [the Publishers' price was £65], and with the Bookcase, \$150.35 (£31).

NOTE. — If the Purchaser sends a cheque for the full amount at the cash price shown above, he will effect a saving of 15 cents (one shilling) on every \$5.10 (guineas), and no Order Form need be used. The Form which follows is for the use of purchasers who prefer to make monthly payments.

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AMERICAN OFFICE of **The Times** (London): 290 BROADWAY, NEW YORK. [DATE]

I enclose \$5.10 (One Guinea). Please send me "The Times" Issue of the ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA (9th Edition) bound in Cloth, price \$86.70 (17 Guineas), Half Morocco, price \$107.10 (21 Guineas), Full Morocco, price \$142.80 (28 Guineas), the balance of which sum I agree to pay you, or anyone you appoint, at the rate of \$5.10 (One Guinea) a month; my next payment to be upon delivery of the complete 25 volumes, and my succeeding payments on the corresponding day of each month following. Until such payments are complete I engage that the set, not being my property, shall not be disposed of by sale or otherwise. I further agree that if, owing to unforeseen circumstances, of which you shall be the judge, the volumes cannot be delivered, the return of the deposit of \$5.10 (One Guinea) to me shall cancel this agreement.

Please also send a REVOLVING BOOKCASE, for which I agree to make three further monthly payments of \$5.10 (One Guinea) each, after the payments for the book are completed. { Strike out if Bookcase not desired.

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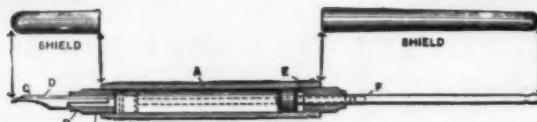


Ve have been on the lookout for a premium that would be acceptable to the great majority of our readers. This is not always an easy matter. What one may like may be strictly opposite to the taste of another. What may be acceptable to a gentleman is often useless to a lady. What a boy would revel in may be tasteful to a girl. Thus in the search for a suitable premium it is very difficult to select one that is acceptable to all and all alike. If it is possible to get hold of such an article, we think we have succeeded in our selection of noted

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"Life" Building, New York, N. Y.

The Publisher's Say



A FEW FACTS

THE ARENA is a monthly review of social advance. Established December, 1889, and now in its 2nd volume.

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Price, 25 cents a copy, on all news-stands. By mail, \$2.50, payable in advance. For foreign countries, 50 cents extra to cover postage—\$3.00, or 12 shillings.

Entered at the New York post-office as second-class matter.

OUR METHOD.

THE ARENA is sent until ordered discontinued. If such order is given at time of subscribing, no other order is necessary. Notice for renewal is sent to each subscriber, with month of expiration. Receiving no reply to this notice, the magazine is continued. This plan is followed, since it pleases the majority of our subscribers. Notify us promptly should any number fail to reach you. Always give old as well as new address, in requesting change of post-office.

SPECIAL LIBRARY RATES

Public and Free Libraries are entitled to a discount rate of \$2.00 a year, on subscriptions to THE ARENA.

HOW TO SEND MONEY.

Remittances should be made payable to THE ALLIANCE PUBLISHING COMPANY, and sent by Post-office Money Order, Express Money Order, New York Draft, or Registered Letter. Those who send personal checks must add 10 cents to cover clearing-house collections.

Address all communications to THE ALLIANCE PUBLISHING COMPANY, "Life" Building, New York.

ABOUT AGENTS.

THE ARENA employs agents to solicit new subscribers. All agents authorized to collect money are given a certificate of agency. Pay no money to an agent unless he can prove his authority. We will not be responsible for money paid to swindlers. Our canvassing agents give receipts signed at this office, and countersigned by them. Accept no unauthorized receipt.

TO NEWSDEALERS AND AGENTS.

The American News Company and its branches are our distributors to the trade. Make your orders through this agency. THE ARENA is returnable, unaltered except from usual handling.

but not returnable prior to receipt of new edition. Make your orders early, and report any failure or delay in filling to us. Must be returned within 90 days from date of issue.

We will send any dealer postal-card announcements, for mailing to special people, after stamping thereon dealer's name and address. This will often double your sales, for the mere labor of addressing the cards.

TO ADVERTISERS.

THE ARENA recognizes all responsible agencies. Its rate-card can be had for the asking. The standing of THE ARENA as a review is such that its following represents a large and influential class of citizens. Considering the number and character of our circulation, the rates for advertising space are comparatively very low. Correspondence solicited.

SPECIAL NOTICE TO PHILANTHROPISTS

Philanthropists are common nowadays, counting big and little. One writes us at what price we will supply THE ARENA "to give away." Thinking there might be others thus spiritually moved, we quote the following, subject to withdrawal at any time:

10 yearly subscriptions, to be sent to as many names supplied us by purchaser, paid for cash with order \$17.50

100 assorted back numbers, all of current year, 10.00

These very low prices are offered only to friends of THE ARENA who feel able and willing to help us, themselves, or their friends, by making such orders, cash with order, as an enterprise of philanthropy. No less than these quantities will be sent, and purchaser must make a definite statement of his intention to give away THE ARENA so ordered.

OUR AGENCY DEPARTMENT.

THE ARENA employs agents upon a liberal schedule of commissions, and to those showing any ability a definite salary is guaranteed, which is paid in full in the event commissions do not equal or exceed this specified salary. By this method, the agent is certain of making at least his salary, while he is free to make more if he has skill and energy sufficient to do so.

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We are willing to buy any back numbers prior to October, 1898, but we have special need for the numbers of 1890, 1892, 1893, and 1894. Friends having duplicates of files, or numbers they will spare us, will please write stating the best offer possible to make.

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*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*

—HEINE.

The ARENA

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THE PLACE AND THE MAN:

THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.*

THERE exists to-day in our federal government a certain officer of whom the world knows almost nothing, yet whose political power is exceeded only by that of the President and whose authority within certain limits is even greater than his. Neither the Constitution nor the statutes recognize or limit his authority. He is responsible to no State or section of country, to no political body—not even to any political party. This political creature, who is so powerful and unique, is the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

What is the explanation of the Speaker's peculiar position? Why has he such power? Whence comes it, and just how great is it? To answer these questions we must first know the

* The views expressed in this article are the result of the writer's personal observations and knowledge of the conditions prevailing in the House of Representatives, supplemented by the official records. In addition, these views have been confirmed in all important points by the Hon. Robt. C. Winthrop, Speaker in 1849-'51, and by the Speakers of the House for the last sixteen years, all of whom have been kind enough to discuss the question with me. The reader will understand, however, that these gentlemen are not made responsible in any way for anything that may appear in the following pages.—E. C.

Speaker's history ; for there we shall find the key that will explain his whole character.

In the first Congress the Speaker had no control over legislation whatever, but was simply a presiding officer. If we turn to the records of this first Congress we shall see why this was. The House Journal shows that there were introduced in the first Congress just 143 bills. One hundred years later the number of bills introduced was 14,032. In these figures we discover the fundamental consideration that determines the Speaker's power ; they show us why in the first Congress he had no political power, and why in the last Congress he has had so much.

In 1789, the United States was, from a material standpoint, an insignificant nation. Its few industries required but little legislation, and the bills introduced were so few that it was possible for the House as a whole to take up and act upon each bill. Consequently, there was no *need* for such a legislative officer as the Speaker. During the next fifty years, however, the country developed very fast. The number and magnitude of our industries multiplied so rapidly that the amount of legislation they required was several times what was necessary in 1789. And the business of the House increased so much that in 1837 it was necessary to revise the rules in order to expedite legislation. Now, with this increase of business there necessarily came an increase in the power of the committees—therefore of the power of the Speaker. Let me say a word as to why and how this is.

The House of Representatives is composed of human beings, and the amount of work they can do is limited ; consequently, there will be a point where their business reaches such an amount that it is impossible for the House personally to investigate and consider the whole of such business. To meet this difficulty the bills are divided into certain classes, and each class of bills is referred to a committee composed of individual members of the House. Each committee examines the bills referred to it and then reports them back to the House, their reports embodying all the information necessary for the

House to form an intelligent opinion on each bill. And, for the very reason that the House is itself unable to make the investigation of each bill, it has to rely more or less upon the investigation made by the committees and embodied in their reports. This gives the committees great control over legislation; and over these committees the Speaker has great control, because he appoints them. The amount of control exercised by the committees over legislation—therefore the amount of control exercised by the Speaker through the committees—depends almost wholly upon the amount of business the House has to transact. If there are few bills introduced the House has time to go over all of them, and the reports of the committees are relatively immaterial. If there are very many bills, then the House has time to consider only the most important ones; and on the others it simply does what the committees recommend, without investigating the bills at all.

By 1837, we know from these changes in the rules expediting business that the Speaker had, through his committees, begun to have some material control over legislation. But he was still regarded chiefly as a moderator rather than as a legislative officer. By 1849, however, legislation had so increased in amount that the active influence of the Speaker over this legislation had become distinctly recognized. For sixty years this influence had been steadily growing, but so gradual and imperceptible had been its growth that no one can say exactly when it was that the Speaker ceased to be primarily a moderator and became first of all a legislator.

As has been shown before, whenever the business of the House becomes so great that it cannot all be attended to by the House itself that body has to rely on its committees to assist it. But there comes a time when even the House with its committees is incapable of passing upon all the legislation proposed; that is, the number of bills finally becomes so great that, even though the House considers only such bills as have been referred to the committees and reported back favorably, the bills thus favorably reported by the committees are still too numerous for the House to consider all of them. Consequently, even

after the House's agents, the committees, have gone over all the bills introduced and selected the best ones, there must still be another agent to go over these bills thus selected by the committees and pick out those bills that should have first consideration. This other agent is the Speaker. The method by which he exercises this authority is by not recognizing any member from the Chair, for the purpose of calling up or considering a measure, unless the member has previously submitted such measure to him and he has approved it.

It was a long time before the House was obliged to call on the Speaker thus to oversee the work of the committees. Mr. Winthrop, who was Speaker in 1849-'51, stated to the writer that in his day the Speaker did not attempt in the least to influence either legislation or debate by his control of the floor. In the next thirty years, however, the power of the Speaker increased remarkably, and his control of the floor became firmly established. The great civil war and the immense mass of legislation necessarily flowing from it, the rapid development of the Trans-Mississippi States, the flood of immigration to this country, and the increase in our population—all these made their influence speedily felt. Each Congress had more work to do than its predecessor; and the greater the amount of work the greater was the burden thrown on the Speaker. In these thirty years, from 1860 to 1890, the number of bills introduced in the House rose from 1,026 to 14,032! By this time, so great had become the press of legislation, the House was unable to dispose even of the most important bills if the minority party demanded even a moderate amount of debate on them. To meet this condition and to enable the House effectively to overcome minority obstruction, another important increase was made in the power of the Speaker. This was done in the Fifty-first Congress, through one of Mr. Reed's new rules, which gave the Committee on Rules the right to report at any time "on the order of business"—a right that carries with it the privilege of having the report considered at once. The Committee on Rules, it should be explained, is composed of five members, and the Speaker himself is chairman. The other

two majority members are personal friends of the Speaker, who will agree to any report he wishes to be made. If the Speaker wishes a measure to be voted on by the House, he has the Rules Committee bring in a report providing that the bill shall be voted on on a certain day at a certain hour. When this report is once presented to the House, all motions of whatever kind—except one motion to adjourn—are, by the rules, declared dilatory unless they tend directly to a final vote on the report. The result is that the report is adopted at once and the bill to which it refers is, at the appointed hour, voted on, no matter what business may have intervened or be then pending. No rule has ever been adopted by the House that gives the majority the complete control over its business that this does. Beside it, Mr. Reed's quorum-counting rule and all his other rules designed to prevent filibustering sink into insignificance. Under its operation the minority is absolutely helpless.

In this brief sketch of the Speaker's history we see clearly the explanation of all his legislative power. Congress is a body that has to deal with practical questions in a practical way. The business that we have given it to do has become so great that it is physically impossible for the House of Representatives to attend to its share alone and unaided. Besides its committees it has to employ an additional agent to help it. And it is perfectly natural that this agent should be one of its own members—one in whom it has confidence; one over whom it has complete control; and best of all, one who is many times more efficient than any other it could possibly select. Thus has the legislative power of the Speaker grown. What is the result of this growth to-day?

There are five different ways in which a Speaker can influence legislation. These are: (1) through the committees, (2) through recognition, (3) through his control of the order of business, (4) through his decisions from the Chair, and (5) through his personal influence. *Follett Chap III*

(1.) *Committees*.—The greatest political power of the Speaker comes from his control over the committees of the

House. The power of the committees lies in the fact that substantially every bill or resolution of a legislative character introduced in the House must be referred to some committee, and before it can be passed it must be reported from such committee back to the House. If the committee chooses it may not report the bill, and in such a case the measure is practically dead. If it does report the bill, and reports it favorably, the bill is placed on the calendar, and has about one chance in three of being passed—as the House can pass in a Congress only about one-third of the bills reported to it by its committees. The power of the Speaker through these agencies lies in the fact that in making up the committees he can appoint whom he chooses. He can appoint men whom he knows to have the same views on certain subjects that he has, or who he knows will follow his instructions. Thus at the very beginning of a Congress he may determine a large part of the legislation to be enacted.

(2.) *Recognition.*—Of the bills reported favorably by the committees it is the Speaker who decides which shall pass. He does this by recognizing members to call up for consideration only such bills as he has approved; and the right of the Speaker to recognize whom he will is absolute. Not only is recognition the Speaker's most absolute power, but it is also the most continuous. It is exerted throughout the whole of the Congress, and determines nearly all the private and minor legislation. The use of the power of recognition, so far as it affects legislation, is modified by party stress and the personal wishes of the Speaker. In party fights the power of the Speaker through recognition rises immensely; for the minority is absolutely helpless even to avail itself of the rules, unless it can first get the recognition of the Speaker. The use of the right of recognition varies chiefly with his personal will. As a rule, the Speaker follows the wishes of his party in the House; yet, at the same time, if he chose he might easily defeat the will of the majority through his control of recognition. And as a matter of fact this has often been done, especially by Mr. Reed in the last Congress.

(3.) *Order of Business*.—Besides the control over the order of business, which the Speaker exerts through the committees and through recognition, he now, through the convenient and effective Committee on Rules, exercises a general control over all the important business of the whole Congress.

(4.) *Decisions from the Chair*.—The Speaker decides all questions of parliamentary procedure. In general he exercises but little influence over legislation through this power, yet there are times when this same power affects legislation in the highest degree. For instance, in the Fifty-first Congress, Mr. Reed by his parliamentary rulings determined a very large part of the legislation of that Congress. Mr. Blaine, while Speaker, by rulings directly opposite to the later ones of Mr. Reed, prevented his party from pushing the great "Force Bill" through the House.

(5.) *Personal Influence*.—The Speaker exercises a great deal of influence as a man. Of course, the amount of legislation thus determined depends entirely upon the Speaker's personal ability. This direct influence is exerted chiefly in controlling the reports of committees, and in deciding with other leaders what measures shall be passed during the Congress.

So much for the various methods in which a Speaker can control legislation. The amount of legislation thus controlled by the Speaker is affected (1) by custom, (2) the relations of the Speaker with the majority of the House, (3) his relations with the minority, (4) his relations with individual members, and (5) his personal character.

(1.) *Custom*.—If a Speaker were limited only by the written rules of the House, he could in twenty-four hours almost create anarchy in our whole federal government. But there are to the Speaker's power other limits than those set by written rules. A sense of fairness and honesty to all members and to all parties necessarily binds every man who attains this high office. Besides this, there exist in the House certain customs, which surround, interpret, and modify every written rule of the House, and thus limit materially the Speaker's power under the rules.

(2.) *The Speaker's Relations with the Majority in the House.*—The Speaker is the slave of the majority—and its absolute master. This is not a paradox, but simply a statement of the extremes of the Speaker's relations with his party. There are times when the Speaker completely thwarts the will of a majority of the House. He does this usually by having his committees never report bills favored by the House, or by refusing to recognize members to call up measures to which he is opposed. This was the case in the last Congress with the many resolutions for Cuban belligerency and independence, which Mr. Reed would not allow to be considered. However, while the Speaker can prevent the House from considering a bill, he can never force it to pass a bill against its wishes. On the other hand, all the Speaker's powers come from the majority, and are held only at its will. And whenever a majority of the House is sufficiently determined to pass a measure, it can always do so sooner or later, notwithstanding all the Speaker can do. However, the Speaker and his party almost always work together. When they disagree, nine times out of ten the Speaker has to yield.

(3.) *The Speaker's Relations with the Minority.*—The relations of the Speaker with the minority are usually important only in party struggles. A continued opposition by the minority has a very decided effect upon legislation. This is because the more a minority fights a Speaker the stronger he becomes, and the greater becomes his control over legislation.

(4.) *The Speaker's Relations with Individual Members.*—Congressmen, like other men, are human; and personal friendships enter largely into the business of the House. They have an important influence, however, only on private bills and minor public bills.

(5.) *The Personal Character of the Speaker.*—As the personal character of the men that become Speaker varies, so vary the amount and character of the legislative influence exercised by the different Speakers. One Speaker may influence legislation through his brains and intellect, and another through his energy and will power. One may follow his party, and his

successor may lead it. And this makes the position of Speaker almost a different office under each incumbent.

These are the general considerations that limit the legislative power of the Speaker. Within these limits, let us now try to ascertain approximately just how much legislation the average Speaker controls. To do this practically and specifically we shall divide the legislation of a Congress into three classes—(1) general appropriation and revenue bills, (2) other public bills, and (3) private bills—and then examine each class separately.

(1.) *General Appropriation and Revenue Bills.*—The general appropriation and revenue bills consist of the tariff, excise, and similar revenue bills and of the bills appropriating money for the general expenses of the government. This legislation is determined almost entirely by the committees, and what influence the Speaker has over it is solely through the committees and is very general. And through the committees the Speaker determines not so much what shall be done, but *how* it shall be done. For these bills in one form or another must be passed, as the maintenance of all our governmental machinery depends on them. It may be said that over the specific details of this legislation the Speaker exercises no control, but over the general policy of such legislation he exercises almost complete control.

(2.) *Public Bills, not General Appropriation or Revenue.*—Investigation shows that of all the public bills, not general appropriation or revenue, passed at an average long session of Congress, about sixty-seven per cent. are controlled directly by the Speaker; while in the case of the more important of these bills he determines when he appoints his committees not only what shall be the general policy of these bills but also whether or not there shall be any such bills, and, if so, what shall be their character. Therefore, as to public bills, not general appropriation or revenue, the Speaker actually controls two-thirds of them, and all of the important ones.

(3.) *Private Bills.*—One-half of all the private bills that pass are pension bills. These are considered at regular night sessions, and over these bills the Speaker exercises practically

no control. The other private bills, however, are invariably called up by unanimous consent, and over them the Speaker has complete control.

The foregoing is an average estimate of the amount of legislation controlled by the average Speaker. But it must always be remembered that this amount and its character will vary greatly with each Speaker. Nothing shows this better than the actual experience of the last three Speakers.

Mr. Carlisle, for instance, was considered by his associates as probably the most intellectual man in public life.* He was a deep thinker and close reasoner, logical and clear headed. He was also weak willed, timid, and not much of a fighter. Naturally, he controlled legislation very little through the more arbitrary powers of the Speaker. His influence was not that of the vigorous, active party leader but of a safe and sound adviser; a hard-working student, who impresses his views upon his associates not by his will power but by the intrinsic merits of these views.

Mr. Reed, on the other hand, had the reputation in the House of being above all a man of indomitable will—a man who would do anything and everything that he considered legitimate to accomplish his purpose. He was also a keen and active partizan, far sighted, plain spoken, and of fine common sense. And these qualities have shown themselves during all his three Speakerships. He has influenced legislation in every possible way. But his influence was not that merely of the wise counselor and the intellectual student: it was that of the bold, determined partizan chief, who by the stubborn weight of his will forces his views into the laws of the country. He has differed with the majority oftener—and finally forced and persuaded it to come his way—than any other man, probably, that has ever been Speaker. In all the different ways in which a Speaker can influence legislation, Mr. Reed controlled more than any other man that was ever elected to this office.

* It should be understood that, in discussing personally different Speakers of the House, the writer endeavors to give not his own opinions of these gentlemen but an impartial summary and consensus of the views of the Speakers' associates of both parties.

Following Mr. Reed's Speakership in the Fifty-first Congress came Mr. Crisp. Without the refined intellectual power of Mr. Carlisle or the stubbornness of Mr. Reed, he was yet in many ways a more ideal Speaker than either of these gentlemen. He was a man of strong mind who saw things clearly—vigorous and forceful, bright and quick, plain, sensible, and democratic. He was more of a party man than Mr. Carlisle and not so much of a partizan as Mr. Reed. He regarded himself when Speaker as more the agent of his party than did Mr. Reed—less as its tool than did Mr. Carlisle. His influence with his associates was comparatively small at first, but soon increased until it exceeded in some ways that of both Mr. Carlisle and Mr. Reed. Mr. Crisp's whole aim was to act not so much as the leader of his party in the House, but as its responsible agent, acting under its directions and in accordance with its views. Thus he impressed upon legislation not so much his own individual views (as did Mr. Reed) as he did those of his party generally.

We have now seen what the Speaker has been and what he is. What can we say as to his future? In the first place, we can see clearly that as a nation we shall continue to grow, and that consequently the power of the Speaker will continue to increase. This much we can almost certainly predict, unless some decided change is made in our legislative system. Such a change, to have the effect of reducing the Speaker's power, could be made only by restricting the introduction of bills or by authorizing other bodies to do a large part of the work now done by Congress. The first of these changes is impracticable for many reasons, while the second would be very difficult to make and probably never will be made until some able man is elected to Congress that will take up the question and press it to a favorable issue. There is a change, however, that might well be made in the Speaker's present position; that is, to make the Speaker more responsible to the people of the country and more directly under the control of the people's representatives. As it is now, great excitement and discussion attend the election of each President; yet every two years the people in electing their Representatives are, though scarcely

realizing it, electing an officer with power greater in many ways than that of the President. However, in time the people will learn more of the importance of the position, and members of the House in voting for Speaker will vote more according to the wishes of their constituents than as they individually think best. We saw evidence of this tendency only recently in the discussions among Democrats all over the country as to the relative fitness for the Speakership of the different Democratic leaders in the House. Nevertheless, from the indirectness of the Speaker's election and the peculiar character of his position, it is probable that members of the House will continue to have much discretion in his election.*

To bring the Speaker more thoroughly under the control of the Representatives in the House requires only the will of the Representatives themselves. By enlarging the Committee on Rules and selecting its members by ballot, or by requiring the Speaker to appoint representative members who will reflect the will of the majority as a whole, the House can make this great committee unify and control legislation in the way it thinks best and *not* in the way the Speaker thinks best. By creating a similar special committee on the order of private bills, these bills also could be selected for passage in accordance with the policy and views of the whole House. These changes, it seems to the writer, would be obviously advantageous and are perfectly practicable. However, whether or not in the near future these or any other changes will be made will depend chiefly upon the wishes and views of the Hon. David Bremer Henderson; for, as with many other high places in our government, the power and character of the Speaker's position are determined largely by the man that fills that office.

Gen. Henderson, of Iowa, who will be the next Speaker, is a man of strong individuality. He is Scotch by birth and possesses the characteristics of his race, with many of the traits

* Thus we shall probably continue to have the odd situation of the second officer in our government being practically created outside of the Constitution and yet elected in the very manner originally intended to apply to the election of the first officer—the President; that is, by a select body of men endowed with authority and discretion to choose coolly and deliberately the best man for the place. Such was the aim of our forefathers in creating the Electoral College.

of the Irishman. He has a good mind, is bright and quick and exceedingly resourceful. He is not as obstinate as Mr. Reed, but is strong willed and perfectly fearless. In the civil war he fought in the Union army until he lost a leg and had to retire. Naturally, he makes an exceptionally good fighter in the House. Except when his feelings and prejudices are aroused, as in party fights, he is liberal, broad-minded, sensible, self-controlled, and well balanced. He is industrious and trustworthy and made a good committee worker. Kind-hearted and generous by nature, he is, of course, very popular with his fellow-members, and has many good friends among the Democrats. Above everything else, however, Gen. Henderson is a *Republican*. A lover of justice and right, he believes these qualities are always to be found in the Republican party. Honest and sincere in his convictions on political issues, he nevertheless believes that on these issues his party is always right. He has plenty of backbone; yet he would never act independently of his party or oppose it, as Mr. Reed did. As a presiding officer Mr. Henderson will be prompt in his decisions and as impartial as his partizanship will allow him to be. As a party leader he will be strong and active, and if he errs at all it will be in being too aggressive. He is not considered as an especially deep student, and is a personal friend of Mr. McKinley. These facts together with his intense Republicanism will make him more inclined to follow and fight for the Administration's measures rather than to inaugurate a policy of his own.

What specific and detailed changes, if any, he will make in the Speaker's position no one can now say. If made at all, these changes will be at his instance, and what his intentions are in this regard he does not now care to declare. It has been said that he will in a general way as Speaker be less arbitrary than Mr. Reed and will make the specific change of enlarging the Committee on Rules and making it representative, in the manner heretofore outlined by the writer. Considering Mr. Henderson's strong belief in his party and his desire to see it united in its legislative policy, it would be but natural for him to make such a change; but whether he will or not, no one except

himself knows. One thing, however, is certain: Mr. Henderson will be in the best position to make changes that has ever been enjoyed by a Speaker of recent years. In the first place, he is not eligible for the Presidency, and the Speakership is the highest political honor he can ever receive in this country; consequently, he need not trim his political career as Speaker to meet the varying turns of popular feeling. In the second place, his election will be practically unanimous. Rivals he had at first, and many of them; but they have all retired in his favor, so that now he has a clear field. The result is that in selecting his committees and outlining their policy he will have neither friends to reward nor opponents to compliment. Mr. Henderson has thus an opportunity such as few Speakers have ever had—the chance to make the Speaker's position as perfect as he thinks it can be made, and with himself in that position to make an ideal Speaker.

We can safely assume, however, that whenever important changes in the Speaker's powerful position become really necessary or decidedly advantageous they will be made. This, it is true, may be done very gradually and slowly, for we must remember that many of the newer members of the House do not realize how great is the power of the Speaker—and yet how completely he is under their control. We must remember, too, that the power of the Speaker is constantly growing—that a limit on this power to-day that is advantageous and necessary was a few years ago superfluous and unwise. Yet when we consider the tenaciousness with which Congress retains all possible power and the intense dislike, both in and out of Congress, of one-man power, I believe we may safely trust the House to limit the Speaker with every wise and necessary safeguard. And I believe the inevitable and natural result of all the conditions that affect the Speaker's power, and of increased knowledge on the part of the people and their representatives of this power, will be in the end to give us a Speaker who, through his wisdom, responsibility, and efficiency, can in his place do more work and do it better than any other legislative officer in the world.

EWING COCKRELL.

Warrensburg, Mo.

THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

THE failure of the Joint High Commission of the United States and Canada to come to an agreement on questions submitted to that tribunal for consideration and settlement opens up afresh those questions for review, and their discussion is assuming international proportions of a frictionary character between the governments. The *Canadian Journal of Commerce*, in a recent issue, reviews their history, in periods from 1873-'85-'97-'98, in a discussion of marked ability, both in figures and in conclusion of statement.

Without following or criticizing the line of discussion on Canadian borders, let us review the situation from an American standpoint. The situation opens up to the political student a rich field for investigation and thought—one that, in the near future, is destined vitally to interest the governments and the people of the United States and Canada. In the latter country it has become a question of absorbing political interest. At a late election there, the lines of governmental policy were sharply drawn and ably discussed before the people. On one side was the conservative element, representing English tendencies and policies; on the other side, the liberal element, with American tendencies and policies. And by the votes of the people the reins of government were transferred from the *Conservative* to the *Liberal* party, which came into power.

A Canadian tariff commission, visiting centers of trade and population in Canada to learn the wishes of the people on the subject of better commercial relations with the United States, found Canadian sentiment at different points reflected as follows:

"Winnipeg, Man., Feb. 9, 1897.—The Dominion tariff commissioners arrived here from Ottawa and opened the tariff inquiry yesterday. A large delegation of farmers from all parts of the Canadian Northwest and Manitoba demanded that the tariff wall against the United States be obliterated and the

national policy of protection abolished. They urged that all articles of necessity to settlers be admitted free from the United States. They favored a policy of reciprocity; but if the United States would not reciprocate, they wanted the high-tariff wall taken down anyway."

In January, 1897, this tariff commission met at St. Johns to revise the tariff lists between Canada and England. At the same time Wilfrid Laurier, Premier of Canada; John Charlton, Liberal member of the Canadian government; Sir Richard Cartwright, and others, were in Washington to bring about better commercial relations between the two governments without the friction of tariff duties. They presented their claims with masterful power of language, facts, and figures. At the Capital they were met with suggestions of two difficulties in the way: first, that American farmers on the border line would oppose it; second, that the English government might oppose it. The first suggestion is briefly answered and emphasized in the fact that Canada annually imports from the United States in agricultural products about twice as much as it exports to the States; and with tariff barriers removed, or equalized in terms, the ratio would be largely increased in favor of the American farmer.

An open policy between the governments, such as I outline, would abolish all custom-houses, tariff duties, revenue collections, and all restrictions to as free, open trade between the United States and the Dominion of Canada as exists between the different States of this Union. I would remove that custom-line from the south to the north of Canada, and, as fast as circumstances justify, extend it to the Isthmus, for I believe this government is destined to be coextensive with the North American continent. I believe the United States governs its people better, and can govern this continent better, than any other government the sun shines upon rules its people. Under the benign influence of our government and the genius of our institutions, our people have become more prosperous in their ways of life, receive better wages for their labor, enjoy more happiness and comfort, and have better homes, riper op-

portunities for intellectual and spiritual development, and greater facilities for political advancement than are afforded by any other nation to any other people on the globe.

I am not discussing probabilities or possibilities of future acquisition of Canada by this government. I am contemplating the removal of custom-houses and collection districts between the United States and Canada for commercial purposes, in the belief that such removal would enhance the commercial interests of both political divisions of governmental power without disturbing the equilibrium of the governments themselves. I would make all products of the brain, muscle, wheel, loom, or soil interchangeable between the two governments with the freedom and facility accorded to our States, one with another. No tariff regulations should be a hindrance to free, open, unrestricted trade between the United States and Canada.

Is such a commercial union with Canada desirable; and, if desirable, is it practicable? It is desirable, because it opens up to us a home market for our surplus commodities, in exchange for raw materials and the necessaries of life, which we now import under tariff duties; while our merchandise only finds its way into Canadian markets under similar difficulties. This should not be. Look at the map and see the relative situation of the two countries, or rather, I should say, two political divisions; for we are really but one country, with an artificial dividing line running from east to west. This boundary line, running halfway across the continent on the forty-ninth parallel, is thought by most people to be an imaginary line; but it is more than that. It is a well-defined line. From the Lake of the Woods (this lake is seventy miles long by twenty-five wide) to the Pacific ocean, the English government has erected every two miles a cast-iron post, on which is this inscription: "Convention of London, Oct. 18th, 1818." Where the line crosses lake or water courses, if practicable, the government has erected a pile of stones several feet above high-water mark; and where the line goes through forests, trees are cut and a good path maintained—a rod wide and free from trees or underbrush. Alternating with the posts erected by

the English government, the United States has placed similar posts and mounds of stone, and they are kept in position by commissioners or superintendents employed for that purpose.

Most people do not realize the geographical extent of Canada—nor its resources or importance as a commercial factor among the nations of the world. In territorial area Canada is larger than the whole of the United States and Territories, excepting out-of-our-limits Alaska. It is thirty-nine times larger than England, Wales, and Scotland combined, seventeen times larger than France, sixteen times larger than the German Empire, twenty-two times larger than Italy, and is the fifth maritime nation of the world. It has a diversified climate, a hardy, industrious people, productive soil, and great mineral wealth; its fisheries are important, its timber valuable, its watercourses abundant, its public improvements considerable, its markets inviting. Yet between these vast areas of country, the United States and Canada, existing side by side for nearly four thousand miles, capable of a large, reciprocal trade, the sales of our manufacturing industries are comparatively small—probably less than one-half what they would be with tariff barriers removed. To increase the trade and enlarge the commerce between these two political divisions of country is the object to be gained by a commercial union. Canada is the natural market for our surplus commodities, and the United States the natural outlet for hers. The Canadian market is an inviting field for us to enter and possess. Her people are ripe for a commercial union on the basis indicated. Shall we longer fetter the industries and commercial exchanges of both nationalities by withholding the olive-branch of reciprocity, which Canada invites?

Let us have free, open, unrestricted trade between these two governmental powers, by removing the custom duties and tariff restrictions between the two peoples! These custom duties are a nuisance, hardly worth the forms of law—with the fuss and feathers necessary to enforce their observance. The amount of revenue annually collected on importations of goods and products from Canada into the United States is about \$5,500,-

ooo to \$6,000,000, and the cost of maintaining these collection districts and collecting the revenues at different points in Canada is very heavy in proportion to the amount realized. Much of the revenue collected is based upon raw materials and the necessities of life. Four commodities alone, which Canada imports from the United States and on which she levies a duty, amount to more than \$14,000,000; while the same classes of goods that we import from Canada amount to over \$18,500,000.

Is it not nonsense for these two national powers to continue this seesaw arrangement on commercial articles that both peoples must have as necessities of life? To me it seems not only folly but almost a crime for Canada to charge a duty on the \$4,000,000 worth of coal she imports from the United States to keep her shivering population warm, and a worse folly for the United States to charge a duty on \$3,000,000 worth of coal that New England imports from Nova Scotia, mostly for manufacturing purposes. Is it not strange that the United States should exact a duty on \$6,000,000 worth of breadstuffs imported from Canada, and that the latter country should exact a duty on \$8,000,000 worth of breadstuffs imported from the States? Why not end this commercial farce at once, by striking off tariff duties altogether, and agree to unrestricted reciprocity between these two governmental powers? Reciprocity is natural and would prove a great blessing to the people of both divisions of country. It would enlarge trade between the contracting countries and restrict trade with the rest of the world. Canada exports to other countries \$100,000,000 and imports from other countries \$113,000,000 annually—a big item of trade, most of which naturally belongs to the United States.

The United States can afford the loss of revenue, if it be a loss, amounting to less than ten cents *per capita* of our population, for the greater benefits that would accrue by the opening of an unrestricted market. Reciprocity of national dealing with Canada does not imply free trade, excepting as between the contracting parties; nor does it imply free goods from England to us—the great bugbear to reciprocity with Canada. The Dominion, although a dependency of Great Britain, has a

government of its own, comparatively free from English rule, though nominally subject to the imperial dynasty of the Queen. Canada makes her own laws, has her own revenue system, and maintains her tariff regulations against England as well as against the United States, though varying in degree and discriminations as to rates. The Canadian schedule of tariff duties varies from 12.6 per cent., as against the United States, to 22½ against England and 20 per cent. against other countries; while the free list of imported articles also varies from twenty to forty per cent. on importations against different countries. The highest discrimination of duty on imported articles and the smallest free list of imported articles are against England, and Canadian laws bind her as inexorably as they do the American or other governments to schedule lists and tariff rates. With tariff lines removed and enforced with the same rigor that custom duties are now enforced between Canada and England, the United States has nothing to fear from foreign importations free of duty through Canada, and England nothing to complain of. She loses no free market and is not embarrassed by new obstructions to her trade. England pays duties to get her goods into Canada and into the United States, and sends them to whichever market promises the best returns. Canada wants the products of our manifold industries, and with tariff restrictions removed would become a large purchaser of our goods—to the practical exclusion of English and other foreign importations into her markets.

This commercial field, vast and important as it is, Canada invites us to enter and possess as our common heritage, upon terms mutually advantageous to both governments. Her commercial, political, and national interests are naturally with the United States as the seat of imperial, beneficent governmental power. Under our Reciprocity Treaty between the years 1854 and 1866, our trade with Canada largely increased, showing a clean balance sheet in our favor. Mr. J. Ross Robertson, editor of the *Toronto Telegram*, speaking about tariff and reciprocity as affecting trade between Canada and the United States, said :

"If the old treaty of reciprocity between the United States and Canada, made in the fifties, had been continued to the present time, the United States would be in possession of not less than ninety per cent. of Canada's foreign trade. I am in hopes that, when our reciprocity commissioners go to Washington, this subject will receive such treatment as will enable our people to trade with the United States in numerous large lines unrestricted by the tariff. Canada would, of course, keep up her present protective tariff against England."

Mr. Butterworth, M.C. from Ohio, in a speech in Congress upon the McKinley tariff bill, with official figures before him to verify his statement, said: "During those ten years of reciprocal trade, so much depreciated and unfair as it was (I agree with my colleague) in many respects, we had the advantage of the balance sheet of over \$50,000,000; and in the last forty years, in the trade between the Canadian provinces and ourselves, the balance in our favor is over \$250,000,000."

Those figures, in the light of past experience, seem to preclude the necessity of further argument in favor of the union I am outlining. But it is not my purpose to go into details of figures growing out of, or as incident to, the free working of this system during the short period of experiment given it, when we had but a moiety of the manifold industries that have since been born to life under our progressive achievements. When the civil war closed in 1865, we had an enormous debt to pay, in the main by levying custom duties on foreign importations, and we adjusted our tariff regulations against all foreign nations to meet the emergency. At that time England, France, and Germany supplied the world with nearly all articles of mechanical skill, and we were dependent upon them for luxuries, if not for the necessities of life. The repeal of the Reciprocity Act with Canada was felt to be a great mistake by eminent statesmen at the time, but, as it was a sort of war measure for paying off the war debt, it was acquiesced in, under press of circumstances; hence its repeal.

Since its repeal, in the sweep of the lines of destiny, thousands of new industries in our land have sprung into life and developed beyond all comparison with anything before known

in the world, and we are no longer dependent upon foreign nations for what we eat, drink, or wear. We are an inventive, self-producing, self-supporting nation, able to stand alone against the world. Our skill and inventive faculties have set in swift motion shafts and spindles and wheels, and they are doing the work of millions of hands in quiet, easy ways. Their buzz is heard on every street-corner; their products lie upon our shelves; they fill our storehouses to repletion. As a nation we are seeking new markets for our manufactured articles and surplus commodities, pushing our energies to the ends of the earth to find an opening—and overlooking better markets at our very doors. As a nation we have expended thousands of dollars in courting and junketing distinguished representatives from foreign governments of the Latin States south of the equator, in order to open up better commercial relations with them. This was right, and a far-reaching national policy. No doubt, through this shaking of the commercial tree, fruit will be gathered that will justify the effort. It has already borne fruit in the value of our exports and imports, in extended facilities for increased commercial transactions, in mutual harmonies of national good feeling, and in the outlook for future development along the lines of marine and inland commerce. Nations as well as individuals have to look out for the present and provide for the future.

Canada's constitution enables her to carry out contracts she enters into. Though nominally a dependency of Great Britain, yet practically she rules her Dominion with about the same freedom that one of our States rules its internal affairs under our government. When Secretary Bayard and Lord Salisbury were approaching a conclusion of negotiations for the prohibition of seal-catching during the breeding season in Behring Sea, it is shown by diplomatic correspondence that the Dominion government, under the sway of Sir John A. Macdonald, objected to the treaty stipulations and practically overruled the British government—and the treaty fell through.

Commercial union with Canada is more feasible now than ever before. Her people and the Dominion government are

ripe for a change, and she could come to us on reciprocal terms with less embarrassment now than ever before.

The Dominion government owns, controls, and manages a canal system that costs over \$52,000,000, and a railway system that cost \$50,000,000. Besides these, it has aided the Canadian Pacific Railroad Company—one of the grandest and most thoroughly equipped railways on the continent—to the amount of \$210,000,000. It recently received mails from the Pacific ocean, at Vancouver, B. C., and delivered them in New York City, completing the transit in eighty-four hours—the greatest railroad feat ever recorded. I mention these facts to show that Canada is not barren of internal improvements, alike creditable to the history, genius, and intelligence of her people. The use of these improvements would come to us as part of our inheritance under such a reciprocity arrangement as I have endeavored to outline. Without such union, these arteries will become great highways for European traffic and transit, from China, Japan, and the Pacific islands, and we must pay tribute to Canadian enterprise and European demands, which may sooner or later be imposed. In such case the pen cannot describe the value of a free use of their modes of transit in the highways, lakes, and border-lands on our northern frontier. At present they are disturbing. Mr. Hitt introduced a resolution of inquiry into Congress, in the last months of the Harrison administration, calling upon the President, "if any new legislation was necessary, to regulate the railroad traffic between the two governments; that 500,000 freight-cars passed annually from the United States into Canada for distribution of freight; that the traffic, as carried on, added to the burdens of American railroads, heavily mortgaged, while it lessened the burdens of Canadian railways resting under enormous public subsidies given to them." This international traffic has since largely increased year by year.

American capital is seeking investment in Canada, and we are growing into interlacing national interests year by year. More than twenty millions of United States capital is invested in coal mines in Nova Scotia. Other investments are made in

gold and silver mining, and other Canadian enterprises in different localities. The financial, social, and political interests between these two peoples are being interlaced and united, in spite of tariff impediments and governmental restrictions. Three million Canadians are already in the United States, readily becoming citizens under our government and institutions. They own \$120,000,000 worth of real estate here, and twelve thousand are in business for themselves in the United States. Fifteen to twenty thousand are domiciled in Boston, and two hundred and sixty thousand in Massachusetts. More native-born Canadians are in Chicago than in Toronto, and more in the United States than in Canada. Half a million of them are in New England and New York. They have representatives in the legislatures of half-a-dozen States of the Union. They have twelve newspapers in New England and New York, many of them advocating not only reciprocity upon an equitable commercial basis, but of annexation of Canada to the United States. They are domiciled with us, attached to our government and our laws, and are as prosperous, peaceful, quiet citizens as we have within our borders.

Mr. Charlton, member of the Canadian Parliament, upon a motion of inquiry as to the cause of the exodus of Canadians to the United States, stated that "over 2,500,000 Canadians were then in the United States—that 28,000 left the last year for the States, to become Americanized; and he wished to know the cause of these startling facts, and said the matter should be made the subject of governmental inquiry." Mr. Armstrong, president of the Young Men's Conservative Club, of Toronto, recently made some remarks derogatory to the policy of the Conservative government, which allowed wholesale emigration of Canadians to the United States, and said "Canada was being annexed to the Republic by job lots." This led to charges that he was not loyal to the Conservative party, and at a meeting the Club was asked to pass a resolution expressing its disapproval of Mr. Armstrong's views. In the discussion that followed it was "asserted that there were more native-born Canadians in the United States than in Canada, and more in

Chicago than in Toronto." The resolution was defeated. The *Halifax Herald* puts in its claim this way: "Whether we like it or not, the facts remain that in many respects we in this colony are more akin to our cousins across the line than we are to our kindred beyond the sea. Our pronunciation, our newspapers, our postal system, our coinage, our tariff, and our church and college fashions are more American than English. This is conspicuously true of our political men, methods, and ethics. It is also true of our humor, which is American rather than English."

Those who watch the progress of Canadian events cannot fail to see that there is a growing discontent in Canada with regard to governmental affairs, affecting all classes of people and all shades of political affinities throughout her Dominion, and a widespread, deep-seated desire is crystallizing for union, either commercial or political, with the United States. What is wanted is agitation upon the subject among the people, and when that is pressed Congressional action will come, as policy may suggest or experience justify. The benefits to be enjoyed by a commercial union with or annexation of Canada are great, and to be attended by no expense to the respective governments. The Louisiana Purchase cost us \$16,500,000. The acquisition of Texas cost us \$10,000,000. The Guadalupe-Hidalgo treaty, which gave us New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, etc., cost us \$10,000,000. The Alaska purchase in 1867 cost \$7,200,000. In each case the investment has been a paying one, and promises a good commercial outlook for the future. No one now regrets the purchase or questions the wisdom of the transaction. The annexation of Canada to the United States—into full membership—has not so widespread, outspoken, pronounced opposition among our people or politicians as had the acquisition of any of the territories above referred to, and it promises much greater commercial results.

It is believed that the people of both political divisions of country by decided expression would vote for a political union of Canada into full Statehood relations under our constitutional inhibitions and prohibitions. The political environ-

ments of Canada are such that, before a completed union could be accomplished, negotiations must outline the transaction. I suggest an exchange of the Philippine Islands for Canadian territory. This exchange would be mutually advantageous. It would give the English government what it desires, and release American supervision over lands and peoples we do not want. Let the exchange be made.

A call comes for the removal of trade barriers between the United States and Canada by abolishing custom duties and tariff regulations between the two governments. They are a hindrance to trade and a nuisance to both governments, with no semblance of good to either, and the quicker they are removed under reciprocal arrangements the better. This done, our fisheries question would be adjusted, and our Behring Sea difficulties amicably removed from the arena of contention.

During our reciprocity period with Canada, the currents of commercial life and social business customs moved peacefully and prosperously along the lines of the two governments, with no disturbing elements from Great Britain by reason of the Reciprocity Act. In these days of treaty stipulations to adjust national difficulties, short of the tramp of armies with powder and ball to the destruction of life and property, is it not better to develop national resources and harmonize national difficulties by meeting Canada halfway on the issues presented? Treaty stipulations between national powers are not always satisfactory, as they often miscarry in design. In 1871 an Arbitration Commission met in Halifax to adjust the fishery question, and that body found that the United States should pay to Canada \$5,000,000 in ten annual payments of \$500,000 each, which our government has paid; but the friction has been a disturbing element ever since. Five million dollars for liberty to catch fish on Canadian waters for ten years, with the right of renewal at the same rate, was a big item for us to pay for a privilege that may now come to us free of charge on the lines I have indicated. The right of renewal under the arbitration award has never been accepted by us, and the question is still open and unsettled.

The Behring Sea arbitration demonstrated its failure to accomplish the objects for which it was convened. It not only nullified our claims, but failed to protect the seals. As an outcome of this arbitration the United States was involved in a claim of \$500,000 for damages in trying to carry out some of the rules and regulations prescribed in the award. The American-Canadian Commission, returning from Alaska after months of investigation, have failed to make their finding, and the Commission is probably at an end. International arbitration rules and regulations, ornamented with ribbons and big golden seals, look well on paper, but usually fail in everything except the draft of big fees for signatures.

It seems to me that as a nation we are standing in our own light in not meeting Canada at least halfway to the immediate accomplishment of reciprocity arrangements and final settlement of our commercial relations. To-day, as the light streams in, important political factors of the governments are revived, and their consideration cannot long be delayed with safety to our interests. Canada, apparently with much reason, stands at the parting of two national highways—one leading to the establishment of friendly relations under reciprocity acts with us to which she naturally gravitates, and the other leading to imperial confederation, empire consolidation under a distinctive British system, colonial representation in the imperial Parliament, and unification of all her scattered outposts: which attractions are being held out to the Dominion government to counteract the growing uneasiness of her people. The trend of probabilities is such that if we reject reciprocity arrangements, to which Canada invites us, she will cast her destiny on the decision leading to closer British unification. Which shall it be? If she comes to us, she brings her good-will, commercial enterprises, and use of her internal improvements under reciprocity arrangements—making us a joint partner with her in profits, without the friction of antagonizing interests. If she goes the other way, she consolidates her commercial interests with Great Britain, as against the United States, and her negotiations with us will then end.

The present time is opportune for agitation, for petitions to Congress, and for national action. The desires of the people must be made known to our representatives in Congress, if we expect any present movement in favor of a commercial union. Great enterprises are not born to life in Congress without first being agitated and pressed by the people back of it. We have no Moses there to strike out boldly and lead the people in the way of destiny. There are some who believe that, with enlarged trade and social intercourse with Canada, and with the attractions of the great Republic fully opened and established, it could not long resist forces tending toward political absorption. Be that as it may, the time has come for at least unrestricted commerce between the two governments. New England should at once agitate for a free, open Canadian market for our industrial energies and surplus commodities, or even for peaceful annexation, which would heal international disturbances. Massachusetts and Connecticut, with their countless wheels and swift-turning shafts of industry, with their infinite variety of products in close proximity to Canadian markets, should commence agitation, by discussion and petition to Congress, for an abrogation of all tariff duties between these two national powers, and for the establishment of a free, full commercial union and reciprocity of commercial interests with Canada.

Reforms and great uplifting enterprises do not come at a bound: they are the growth of vigorous, pressing agitation, oftentimes stimulated by promptings in the line of self-interest. New England has much to gain by a free, open market with Canada, and nothing to lose. She must look out for herself, or her prestige as a political factor in the councils of the nation will be gone. To a great extent it is already gone. The West and the East no longer affiliate in political or commercial sentiment. The West and the South have come to the front in political power and national supremacy. The star of empire has been removed from the East across the Allegheny Mountains, and its shadows linger over eastern summits. Chicago and New York locked horns for the location of the World's

Fair, and the battle was among giants in the struggle. New York, with unrivaled seaboard facilities, with mammoth steamships and sailing craft daily coming from and going to all parts of the civilized world, with ample railroad facilities and hotel accommodations, with a guaranteed capital pledged for the success of the Fair as a national enterprise, without help from the national Treasury, was pushed to the wall; Chicago, with financial backing from the Treasury, in a national chariot with golden wheels, with banners flying, with the Ark of the Covenant committed to its keeping, rode triumphant from Congressional halls to Chicago, and western prairies blazed with enthusiasm over the victory—and their triumphal march was the watchword of political power centering in the West. The veiled prophets of New York in humility went back to their marble palaces to ponder the thought that the shadows of Rip Van Winkle do not hover over Chicago or rest upon the prairies of the West. The lesson was a hard, bitter one for New York to learn—but harder to forget.

St. Louis rivals Philadelphia; Minneapolis and St. Paul outweigh Boston and Baltimore in commercial push. The aggressive, active forces that shape legislation in Congress come from the West, and the West will take care of its own. Faneuil Hall, in Boston, and Independence Hall, in Philadelphia, have had their history written, and the book has been sealed for the future. Their classic walls reflect no warming impulse, no quickening, vital force to the life-blood of the nation. The dust is settling upon the brow of New England, and Concord philosophy has discovered no way to prevent its accumulation. Public buildings in the East, built with drafts upon the national Treasury, are eclipsed in magnificence and grandeur in the West—from contributions from the same source.

The opportunity is now open for New England to check for the time being her waning prestige—by cultivating social, political, and commercial relations with Canada. Her markets are at our doors, and we are invited to enter and possess them with the products of our mechanical skill and industries. We should petition Congress to remove the trade barriers between

the two governments, and no time should be lost in the effort. The opportunity is grand, and the prize worth the effort to secure it. Commercial union or annexation once secured with Canada, a balance-wheel of political power will be added to steady our commerce and accelerate the moving wheels of our industries. It is time for New England to wake up to a realizing sense of facts that are crowding it to the wall. Though we may not expect or hope to recover the lost vantage-ground we once enjoyed, we may by timely effort secure some moorings while the tide sweeps on.

L. E. MUNSON.

New Haven, Conn.

SURVIVAL OF THE STRONGEST.

I. THE SOUTH AFRICAN CRISIS.

FOR nearly a century the Boers have tried to get beyond the scope of British rule, but England in her march of territorial conquest has raised the Union Jack over the land that the Boers had hoped to enjoy in peace and independence. The sturdy Dutch settlers of southern Africa have simply asked that they be permitted to enjoy the right of governing themselves. They have desired peace, and rather than take up arms against the English, whom they consider invaders of their territory, they have twice "treked" over the plains and the mountains of South Africa until they settled in the Transvaal, which was at the time of their arrival a wilderness inhabited by savage tribes and wild beasts. These pioneers of civilization in interior Africa, by their courage, subjugated the savages and drove out the animals; but in this, their final home, they were not long permitted to remain free from the English, whom they had learned to hate and consider their common enemy—for in 1877 Sir T. Shepstone proclaimed the Transvaal British territory. The Boers did not longer desire to be hewers of wood and carriers of water for the English; so, rather than again "trek" further north, they rose in arms against the English in 1880 and secured their independence the following year.

The responsibility for the present war in South Africa rests on England. She has no business in that country, and the attempt to crush out the life of the little Transvaal Republic will ever remain a blot on England's escutcheon. I state this from actual knowledge of the country and its conditions; as I have traveled in every section of South Africa, from Cape Town to the northern border of Matabe~~land~~land.

In order thoroughly to understand the causes leading to the present difficulty, a brief *résumé* of the history of the Dutch

in South Africa is necessary, so that the reader may judge for himself who is right in this great contest. It was in 1648 that a Dutch shipwrecked crew spent six months near the spot where now stands the city of Cape Town. They tilled the soil and raised good crops. When they returned to Holland, those sailors told the story of their sojourn in South Africa, and as a result of their experience three vessels were despatched to Cape Town in 1652 by the Dutch East India Company, under the command of Jan Van Riebeek. A large number of emigrants went out with these vessels. When the party left Holland, the leader of the expedition was instructed to build a fort and hospital there, and above all to raise vegetables, so that the ships of Holland might find a resting-place on the way to India and be able to secure fresh provisions. The colony grew and the Dutch cultivated the soil—a thing that the British have never attempted to do in that country. The Hollanders who went out to Africa were of the humbler classes, with few ties in their native land.

In 1689, the Dutch colony was added to by the arrival of three hundred French Huguenots—a part of those who had taken refuge in Holland after the revocation edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. They were men and women of culture, and of a much higher stamp than the previous settlers. These Huguenots intermarried with the Dutch, and it is largely from them that the present Boers of Africa derive their fighting qualities. These people led a wild life, but in all their trials they rigidly kept to the Bible and worshiped God. England, when war broke out between her and Holland in 1781, attempted to seize Cape Colony, but retired when it was found that a large French force was prepared to aid the Dutch.

In 1795 an English expedition secured an entrance into the country, and it remained under British rule until 1802, when it returned to the Batavian Republic. In 1806, when war again broke out, the English sent out a strong force to the Cape and recaptured it. From this time dates the beginning of the troubles between the Boers and the English that find their culmination in this war. It was not until 1814 that England made

a permanent colony of the Cape. The Boers were ruled with a high hand, and when in 1834 the British Parliament passed a statute abolishing slavery in all British colonies and awarding a sum of \$100,000,000 as compensation to the slave-owners, a roar of discontent was raised among the Dutch of the Cape. This was heightened when the fact became known that but \$15,000,000 had been assigned to the Cape, which sum was much less than the value of the thirty-nine thousand negroes held in bondage. On this account many of the farmers lost the bulk of their property. Had England at that time treated the Cape Dutch with the same degree of justice in the payment of slaves as was meted out to the English in other colonies, it is probable that the present difficulties in South Africa would not have materialized. But the old Dutch settlers chafed under this state of affairs. After thoroughly considering the matter it was decided best to leave Cape Colony and move beyond the scope of British rule.

The Boers never again attempted to acquire slaves in any of the territories where they settled. It was in 1836 that the great "trek" took place, when ten thousand families with all their belongings began the march from Cape Colony. It was impossible for this vast number to travel in a body, as their cattle would not have sufficient forage. They broke into squads, but all going to a common rendezvous previously agreed on. The march of this vast concourse of settlers into the African wilderness had many romantic and exciting incidents. A few remained in the Orange Free State, but a larger number settled in the present Natal Colony under the leadership of that valiant Boer and the father of South African republics, Andries Pretorius. Their battles with the Zulus were many and exciting; but the crowning feat of arms came when Pretorius, with 470 men, on December 16, 1838, boldly attacked 12,000 Zulus under King Dingaan on the banks of the Umhlatozi River. After a battle of several hours the Zulus were completely routed, leaving 3,000 dead on the field. This is the greatest feat of arms recorded in the annals of South Africa.

In 1840 the Boers declared Natal an independent Dutch Republic; but from this place they were turned out by the British, and the country was declared a part of the Queen's domain in 1843. Once more the Boers turned their eyes northward (in 1847), this time "treking" over the Drakensberg Mountains and settling in the Transvaal—which means across the Vaal River. Once more the Boers tried to form a government of their own, declaring the Transvaal to be an independent government, with Andries Pretorius as the president. For the first time in the history of these people, England (on May 23, 1849) recognized their government. For twenty-eight years they were permitted to rule the land that they had with difficulty made habitable; but in 1877 Sir T. Shepstone, the British resident minister at Pretoria, declared that the Transvaal was annexed to Great Britain. Thus once more the Boers found themselves under the rule of their bitterest foe. But there was a determination that there should be no more "treking;" that the only thing to do was to take up arms against the English and fight for their land—since they might as well die fighting as subduing savage natives and wild beasts: only for the English to enjoy the fruits of their labor.

It was at this time that Paul Kruger, then fifty-two years of age, came to the front and with the aid of General Joubert and W. M. Pretorius, son of the first president of the Transvaal, organized the rebellion against the English. The result of the Boer war of 1880-'81 is too well known to require mention here—with the exception that the British thought that they would defeat the Transvaalers within a month; but the peculiar part of the whole affair was that the Boers did not lose a battle, and their achievement in defeating the forces of General George Cooley at Majuba Hill is one of the great battles of history. The defeat of General Cooley resulted in the Boers' securing their independence once more. Such was their career up to the latter part of 1881.

There would never have been another attempt on the part of England to meddle with the Boers or their affairs had it not been for the fact that large deposits of gold were found in the

Transvaal. When the immense wealth of the Johannesburg mines was fully known in England there was a concerted movement to find some means by which the Transvaal could again be brought under the scope of England's rule; but the memory of the affair of Majuba Hill made the English cautious. From experience it was known that the Boers were fighters. Diplomacy was tried, but old "Oom" Paul Kruger at every move made by the English statesmen checkmated them, until it was realized that it was a most difficult task.

One of the charges made against the Boers is that they are non-progressive. The fact is, it is the English who have been non-progressive. During all the years that they have been upon the land they have made no effort to till the soil; they have not raised a manufactory in the country; all their large towns—Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, and Durban—are nothing more than trading posts: mere sutlers' camps. Natal Colony has been bountifully blessed by Nature. The mere turning of the soil will raise a fine crop—"tickle it with a hoe and it will laugh with a bountiful harvest;" but not the least effort have the English made by their own muscles to till this Eden of South Africa. Instead, the British who settled there had practically a slavery code passed by which English settlers could at starvation wages hire "coolies" from East India for a term of five years. During that period those hirelings could not leave the farm of their master without a permit. These poor East Indians could be placed on the whipping-post at the will of their temporary owner. Such was the "progressive" condition of the English in Natal. It appears that a different stamp of Englishman has gone out to Africa than to any of the other British colonies. In Australia, where I have traveled extensively, the English people are a hard-working class, and have in many instances made a garden out of a desert; but the English that one sees in South Africa are the most arrogant and pretentious beings that one would care to meet. It is considered by them a disgrace to work. While stopping at the Central Hotel, Durban, Natal, during the latter part of 1894, the proprietor's daughter, after I had told

her of the dangerous fever at Delagoa Bay, said: "We are always afflicted with a fever in Natal."

"Pray, what kind is it?" I asked.

"The lazy fever," she promptly replied.

Never were truer words spoken. The fruits of that country are going to rot because the English are too careless and indolent to pick them. But they import jams from England. It would never do to plant fruit and pick it—that would be too menial an occupation. The officials of the Natal railway told me when I asked them concerning white labor in the colony that it was impossible to get the white people to work—it was considered a disgrace to labor.

In Cape Colony there are tens of thousands of acres of prickly pears growing wild. They make excellent preserves. All Nature asks is that the offering placed at the disposal of the inhabitants be gathered; but not the least effort is made to use this fine fruit. All the vegetables in the British African colonies are cultivated by the Dutch, Natives, Coolies, and Chinamen. I relate these facts in order that the reader may understand how little the British settlers have done to *develop* South Africa.

On the other hand, the English have been master hands in that country at grabbing territory that is rich with precious metal. Take the diamond mines of Kimberley, for instance, located in Griqualand West. Previous to the discovery of diamonds in 1876, this was a part of the Orange Free State. When the importance of the mines was recognized by the English, there was a concerted effort to add the territory to Cape Colony, and this was done in 1879, without the least show of justice. The property on which are located the rich mines was the farm of an old Boer named De Beers. He was paid a small sum by the Cape government, the British flag was hoisted over Kimberley, and to the De Beers's Company was given a perpetual lease of the diamond mines.

When gold was found in Johannesburg in 1884, several Englishmen went to the field; but they could not make the ore pay. After the failure of the Cornishmen, a number of Aus-

tralians went to the Transvaal mines; but they had no better success than their English brethren. It was not until 1886, when the Rothschilds sent out Hamilton Smith, an American mining expert, the man that engineered the Anaconda copper-mine deal of Montana for the Rothschilds, that any progress was made in the development of the Johannesburg mines. Had it not been for him, it is very probable that the Rand would be unknown to-day and that the English would not care anything about the Boer country. Where the Englishmen failed the Americans made a huge success. It is a noteworthy fact that all the great mines of the Transvaal are in charge of American managers. It is from the date of the success of these mines that the trouble of Kruger began, and the whole key to the present situation was at once made manifest. Britishers flocked to the Transvaal at the rate of about a thousand a week. The cities of Cape Town and Natal vied with each other for the Johannesburg trade, which amounts to nearly \$70,000,000 annually. After the English had been at the Rand some time and their numbers had grown to about thirty thousand, every scheme was tried to engender a dispute—so that England might step in and secure the rich gold-fields, which are said to contain in sight \$50,000,000,000 worth of the precious metal. I have heard it openly expressed on the streets of Johannesburg that the mines were too good a thing for the Boers to have.

There came a demand for the right to vote. "We pay the taxes, and we should have the privilege to say how we shall be governed," was the Englishman's cry. Had the Transvaal government granted the demand, the country within two years would have been annexed to Cape Colony by the English representatives elected. President Paul Kruger well understood the purpose back of the popular-franchise movement, and he promptly put his foot on it. On the surface, the merits of the case seem to be on the side of the English; and to those who do not fully understand the situation the Boers acted very unjustly in refusing the appeals of those who pay the taxes. Self-preservation is the first law of Nature, whether in the life

of a nation or an individual. We have seen it illustrated in the United States, when the law was passed closing the doors of this land against the Chinese and denying them the rights of citizenship. But it will at once be said that the Chinamen do not want to make this country their permanent home, for as soon as they have secured means they will go back to China with their wealth and spend it there. It is exactly the same with the Englishmen in the Transvaal: as soon as they have made enough to go back to England to live at ease they shake the dust of the Boer country from their feet. No white person goes there with the intention of making the land the permanent home of his family. The best interests of any country are not safe in the hands of those who simply visit it as a set of speculators and leave as soon as they have made their fortune.

To have granted the right of voting to the English would mean that the Boers would be willing to give to them by peaceful methods that which they were not able to secure by force of arms. There certainly could be no complaint about the taxation of the mines, for the mining laws of the Transvaal are based on the mining laws of the Western States of this country and were drawn up by John Hays Hammond, the American who received so much notoriety during the Jameson Raid, in the latter part of 1895. When the franchise question came up, the Englishmen appealed to the home government. Here comes the most peculiar part of the whole business. England demanded that the Britishers be given the right to vote. Why should Britishers be given the right to vote in a foreign land? They would not be Britishers if they had acquired that right, for they would be forced to swear allegiance to the Transvaal government. The moment that they have performed that act, they pass beyond the pale of British protection, and it is no further concern of England what becomes of them. It is a rather peculiar process for England to encourage her subjects to alienate themselves from the Queen, and the method becomes more dark in its workings when we find the British government demanding rights for those who are foreigners to its rule. The fact is that the English in the

Transvaal desire to have the privilege of voting in the Transvaal and at the same time retain their fealty to the British Crown. Can any one blame the Boers for the stand they have taken when such a state of affairs existed? Is it not rather peculiar that none of the *Americans* of the Rand find fault with the Boer rule, or demand the right to vote? They are perfectly satisfied to make money in the country and return when they have secured the necessary amount to supply their wants at home.

Suppose that Kruger were to have given the English the right to vote, what would be the result when 100,000 Englishmen were arrayed against about 70,000 Boers at the polls? It would only be a short time before the Boers would have nothing to say in the country that they made habitable by heroic sacrifices and in which they had to win their independence by shot and shell.

It was in the latter part of 1893 that Sir Henry Lock, then Governor of Cape Colony and the High Commissioner of South Africa, went to Pretoria for a conference with Kruger regarding the rights of the Uitlander. The word "English" was dropped on this occasion. In silence Kruger listened to Sir Lock, and that gentleman thought that he had the old Boer in a tight place; but President Kruger said:

"The English came to the Transvaal of their own free will. No one asked them to come, and if the laws of this country do not suit them they are at perfect liberty to return. They came here because they could make more money than they could in their own land. While they are here I shall extend all protection to their lives and property in the same manner as is granted to the Boers. They shall be taxed no more and no less, but they must obey the laws of this land. I repeat, if our method does not suit them they may return at once, as they are not prisoners."

This manner of argument was too much for Sir Henry Lock, and nothing came of the conference regarding the franchise.

During my sojourn at Johannesburg, nearly every American there was opposed to the demands of the English. It was

too plainly seen that the purpose of the agitation was simply a scheme to grab from a weak republic the richest gold-fields in the world. The English of the Rand organized a rifle corps and drilled at Orange Grove, about five miles from Johannesburg. The object was when the crucial moment came to aid in striking a blow against the Boer government; but old "Oom" Paul kept a close watch on them and had forts built on the hillsides overlooking Johannesburg. It was on the request of the Englishmen at the Rand that Jameson attempted his raid. The Britishers at the gold-fields had promised to aid the raiders, but they were soon cowed by the Boers.

The Transvaalers are content to till the soil and let the English take the gold out of the mines. All they ask is that they be left alone in the country that is theirs by right of occupation and by conquest. They want the privilege to rule their land, raise crops, and be a nation unto themselves. The ways of the English are foreign to them, and those from England are their bitterest foes.

It is hard for the Englishmen to forget the defeat of Majuba Hill, coming as it did at the hands of a people that were looked upon with contempt. But, in the face of the so-called misrule of the Boers and their oppression of foreigners and natives, in 1894 the English government turned over to the Transvaal the whole of Swaziland. The Swazis were not amenable to British rule and caused a great deal of trouble. It was hoped that the Swazis would rebel against the Boers, and that this would serve as a pretext to interfere in Transvaal affairs; but, to the surprise of English statesmen, after a few brushes with the Boers the Swazis settled down and became docile subjects.

To the unprejudiced mind the right is on the side of the Boers in this contest, and I know that they will fight to the death for the liberty of their land; but I have little hope of their ultimate victory. Still, it is a grand display of courage to see so small a nation defying one of the greatest powers in the world.

If the Boers be deprived of their government solely because

of rich mines, it will be one of the most unjust acts of England and a disgrace to the British nation.

JOHN E. OWENS.

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II. ANGLO-SAXON ETHICS.

THE article on "English Ethics," by the Hon. W. J. Corbet, M.P., in THE ARENA for October, prompts me to say something on the general subject of which that is a particular branch. However indefensible the conduct of the British people, or government, may be in their treatment of the weaker nations that have come in their way, something more ought to be said that will appear to an Englishman a little more fair in the indictment preferred against them.

The nations that the English have dealt with in the way of conquest have usually been low, barbarous, degraded, and cruel; and their conquerors have only treated them after their own fashion. Again, it is certain that wherever the British flag has been raised over a subjugated people the condition of that people has been improved by it.

I do not purpose to discuss the character of English ethics by contrast with the morals of the nations whose governments they have supplanted, but rather to place the English and American ethics by the side of the pure standard of morals laid down by the Founder of Christianity. That standard of morals is established and fixed in these formularies: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." "Love your enemies; do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that persecute you and despitefully use you." "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." That is Christianity. It is the foundation of all true ethics. It is the only rule of perfectly good moral conduct. No moral character that does not conform to the rules of moral action implied in these formulas can be perfectly good. No code of honor that disregards these principles is a true rule of honorable life.

But the moral code of both England and the United States is: "Keep all you have got; get all you can; do not stop to consider the condition or the wants of anybody else." It is the universal game of competition, whereby every man is supposed to look out for his own particular good, and to expect everybody else to do the same. This is not Christianity any more than England's assuming imperial authority over the nations of Asia and forcing them into submission are Christianity.

The United States, in making war upon the inhabitants of Luzon to establish imperial dominion over them, departs entirely from the principle of Christianity. This principle is the same as adopting the maxim concerning the evolution of the non-intelligent part of creation—the survival of the fittest—and applying it to human beings whom God created in his own image and requires to love and help one another. The maxim would be more true to the false ethics of our time if it were stated in this form: the survival of the strongest, the most cunning, or the most successful. This principle may work in the evolution of brutes, but it is not suited to intelligent beings whose highest state is that of love for one another. Out of it come almost all the crimes committed by man against his fellow-man—all murders, robberies, cheating, deceptions, and every other crime by which individuals take the good of this life away from others and use it for their own benefit. When a selfish man actuated by this principle sees another having any good that he covets for himself, he gets it if he can. If he is the stronger he takes it by force, unless restrained by fear of the consequences of his act. If he dare not take it by force, his next resort is to steal it. If that appears too dangerous on account of the laws by which society protects itself, then he contrives by cheating, fraud, or by taking advantage of the ignorance or necessities of him who has it—as Jacob did with Esau, his brother—to get it in some other way. Assassination is but the extreme measure employed by persons that desire to get the good that others possess and convert it to their own benefit.

The natural and right development of the human mind is

that in which a man appreciates another's happiness and desires that he should have whatever good he is capable of. These right feelings forbid him to take any good thing from another without rendering a full equivalent. One actuated by such feelings fully recognizes another's rights, and he regards them as sacredly as he does his own. If all men had such feelings toward their fellow-men, there would be an end of that grasping selfishness by which men living under our boasted civilization take the good things of life away from others. If only a controlling majority of them had such feelings, the minority would be regarded as criminals and restrained. It is on account of the *general* selfishness of mankind that injustice prevails in every circle of society, and "man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn."

Nature produces all things necessary for the comfort of mankind, in the rough, requiring only the exertion of skill and labor to fit them for use. We can have no reasonable objection to a man's owning and appropriating to his own use whatever he produces by his own labor; but justice demands that, when one man claims to own and use what another has produced by his labor, he must render to him an equivalent of equal value for it. It is an undeniable fact that in all civilized nations not more than two-thirds or three-fourths of the population perform any labor in the production of the things necessary for their comfort. The remaining minority live on other people's labors. A worse feature of the case is that those who do not labor, and consequently produce nothing, have a great deal more than those who work. Every one who labors produces not only what he gets for his own support, but as much more that somebody else gets and consumes. A perfect state of society is one in which all who are capable of laboring should work and produce all that is necessary for their own support and enough more to supply the wants of those who are incapable of labor.

How does it happen that so large a proportion of the population who are capable of labor, but remain idle and produce nothing, get so much of the products of other people's labors?

Do they give it to them voluntarily? Not at all. They contrive by ways innumerable, "by ways that are dark and tricks that are vain," to get possession of what other men have earned. That is the ethics of the civilization of our times. This system is as much a crime against the rights of man as any of the crimes that are commonly recognized as such. The vast numbers who earn nothing, but possess the greater part of what other men earn; those who are proud of their soft, white hands, gracefully rounded limbs, and rotund bodies; those who measure out the years of a jolly life, unwhipped of justice and unrebuked by public sentiment; the drones of society, consuming the best honey in the hive for which they pay nothing—these are really the worst criminals among men, far more despicable than the homeless tramp who begs a cold lunch at our back door, or the wretch who pines in jail for stealing a loaf of bread.

But the most disheartening thing of all is to see how the very fountains of popular ethics are corrupted. Legislatures fail to contrive a system of statutory law to define the duties of man to his fellow-man. The judiciary is too blind to see the equities of fair dealing. And, worst of all, the pulpit—whose chief and almost only duty is to impress upon the minds of people a sense of the obligation of every man to do to others as he would that others should do to him—uses all the arts of eloquence and sophistry to obscure this plainest of truths and make it appear that a man may conduct his business on the purely selfish principles of this world and be acceptable to God, who requires all men to love one another as each one does himself. The man of millions who never earned a dollar is welcome to the best seat in the fashionable church, while the hard-worked mechanic and farmer are given back seats—lest the odor of the sweat and dust of their honest toil should pollute the sanctity of aristocratic refinement. The false and criminal ethics of our artificial civilization has no more Christianity in it than England's cruel system of oppressing weaker nations that venture to resist her lust of power and greed of gain.

JOHN A. WELLS.

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WHEN WILL THE WAR CEASE?

MANY are wondering when this trouble in the Philippines will end. Great reinforcements are being sent—battle-ships and thousands of men are leaving the United States to-day for the seat of war. Under different circumstances it would be a foregone conclusion that, with such a force as is now gathered at Manila, the insurrection of Aguinaldo would soon be subdued. There are, however, some underlying elements in this war that will most certainly prolong the struggle.

In the first place, the Filipinos are inured to the climate; they understand the topography of the country, and can live on half the amount of food necessary to a white man; and—what is of the most importance—they hold the land. Our forty battle-ships will be of great use in the vicinity of cities like Iloilo, Manila, and Dugapan; but they will be utterly ineffective in establishing a blockade of the island of Luzon, much less of all the islands in the archipelago. There must be in the neighborhood of five thousand miles of seacoast in the twenty principal islands. To maintain a close watch upon every port and bay and crinkle of the wrinkled coast, the entire navies of America and England would scarce suffice. You cannot bombard a whole landscape with a navy. A Carabao plow working for half an hour a day for the same time would have made a far greater change in the landscape of the little village of Parañaque than did the cannon of the "Monadnock," which almost daily for six weeks flung shot and shell into the village. It was the same at Malabon and Bacoor. The navy will drive back the insurgents for a few miles from the coast, blockade a few of the larger towns, and that is all that it can ever do. The filibusters of Japan and Hong Kong will continue to ply their profitable trade as before.

The army of sixty-five thousand will have to be increased to at least a hundred thousand before we can garrison the principal towns of Luzon. When we have the towns properly

garrisoned and Aguinaldo's army scattered or destroyed, we shall have to keep our army there to enforce peace. We cannot depend upon the "amigos," because almost a hundred per cent. of them are loyal to their country's cause. They see the great American land syndicates getting ready to swallow up their homes and to evict them from their lands. The "holy orders" have been odious to the people of Luzon; yet they have only charged as rent for an acre of land about three cents a year. Near the La Loma church the rent was less than a dollar an acre. The Tagals are not short-sighted enough to believe that a change of taskmasters will benefit them. They can make a living now without being driven like slaves, and they feel that, as the victims of amateur colonization schemes, the future has for them no hope nor star. So that from the ten millions of people in the islands we may expect nothing but bitter and relentless race war and hatred.

During my stay in Manila I became acquainted with the brother of Aguinaldo's present secretary. This man was an "amigo" working in the palace, yet he had the bitterest prejudice against the Americans. After I had gained his confidence he told me his real sentiments. I do not give his name, not wishing to injure him; but the following was the substance of what he said to me:

"For America to attack the Filipinos is for a Carabao bull to attack a child. I work for the Americans because in that way I can better help to overturn their rule. I want to learn a few civilized arts, so that with my people I can turn them to advantage in our future wars with the Americans. You are a nation of supreme thieves—you rob us worse than the Spaniards, because you have better guns with which to collect your infamous taxes. You will never conquer the Tagals. We will waste and wither you with the expenditures of ruinous wars. My theory is: 'Make peace with the Americans till we have learned the arts of civilized war—then drive your oppressors into the sea.' Our homes were pure—your soldiers polluted them. Our people could live under Spain; but you Americans have taxed the heart-blood of the people. You are vampires, and the curse of God will follow you till your proud Republic falls into a sea of blood."

This man reflects the sentiment of many in the Philippines who declare that with the conquest or death of Aguinaldo the bonds of patriotism will be tightened and the nation will be unified. The Visayans and the Tagalogs believe they can unite and dominate the archipelago. They have lost all faith in America and are waiting sullenly for their revenge. "Who are these Americans," Aguinaldo is reported as saying, "who are constantly prating about liberty—who have crowded into our islands and are standing between us and our freedom, as the Spaniards did for centuries?" Aguinaldo is also reported to have said, when the treaty of peace was signed with Spain, that America has bought a fifty years' war for twenty million dollars. These expressions find a ready response in the hearts of Malays throughout the archipelago. I interviewed President Llorente, of the island of Cebu. At first he said he was thoroughly in favor of the American position; but when I asked him to define just what he expected the Americans to do, he answered, "Give us independence with a protectorate." Llorente is the best man in Cebu, and has been made a judge of the supreme court in Manila by General Otis. On the steamer coming home there were three Filipinos, one of them (Ramon Lacson) the son or nephew of the president of Negros. At first he was very cautious and said he thought the American government was good and that the government of Aguinaldo was bad. When, however, I asked him if he thought Negros should be annexed to the United States, he replied: "Oh, no; that would be very bad. All we want is independence, with the American fleet in Filipino waters; and for this we are willing to pay out of the customs." The boy Lacson undoubtedly reflects his father's opinions. But this Señor Lacson and this Señor Llorente are quoted as being in favor of the colonial or annexation arrangement, whereas they are seen by these interviews to be absolutely opposed to any such thing.

From the foregoing facts it is evident that the war-ships and the soldiers alone will not be able to close this war. It will require diplomacy of the very highest type to make a lasting

peace. Very little short of entire independence will bring peace to the distracted islands. Perhaps an arrangement of the archipelago into three governments will be the first feasible plan to put in operation. Thus the Tagalogs who dominate Luzon and the northern islands could be formed into a separate government, making all the officers in the government Filipinos and retaining the American consular courts, as we formerly did in Japan. In the central group of islands the Visayans are predominant. They could be formed into a government with the capitol at Cebu or Iloilo. The same arrangement could be made with them as with the Tagals. In the south the Morros have complete control. Our present arrangement with the sultan of Sulu, to whom we pay a bribe of five thousand a year that he may keep the peace, though not very exalting to us, is still perhaps the best that can be done there for the present. By our treaty with the sultan we recognize both polygamy and slavery in Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago. The Morros have complete control of their own government and have their own citizens tried in courts composed exclusively of native judges. Americans and foreigners will be tried by an American court in the possessions of the sultan. These divisional governments will have to be established anyway, no matter whether we annex the islands or give them back to the inhabitants.

In time it will undoubtedly be possible to unite the entire group under one government at Manila. Such men as General Wood or Theodore Roosevelt—men that cannot be bribed on the one hand nor hoodwinked by their subordinates on the other—would have a greater influence on the islanders than all the American navy and the entire Yankee army. No amount of military exhibition will ever make the Tagalogs either love or fear us. The whole people have been hurt and injured in their national feelings, and it will take many years to eradicate the bitter prejudices the war has stirred up.. Better than sending a vast conquering army would be to publish in every town and village of the archipelago this notice, or one similar to it:

"The Americans have taken these islands and will establish government in them. There shall be no CEDULAS PERSONALES. There will be no taxes until we can establish such taxes as the Americans pay in their own towns and villages. Spanish laws are no more. Church will be separate from State. The friars and Filipino people shall receive equal justice from the American government. No spies, no informers, no traitors wanted."

Negotiation is what the insurgents have wanted ever since the war broke out. Otis says, "Nothing but unconditional surrender." That might be very well in the case of North and South, but these people feel (I think justly) that they were never disloyal to America—simply because they never belonged to America. The only people that have any sovereignty to sell are the people who own the country. The Filipinos never sold the country to us. It is like Wallace and Scotland. Wallace said he could not have been disloyal to England because he never was a subject of England. I feel, of course, that this opposition to American rule may come from a few smart, ambitious youths who want to use it for financial ends. Yet they have imbued the whole Malay nation and fired it with patriotism. So, while we have the might to whip a thousand Aguinaldos, the question is, Have we the right to say to him, "Unconditional surrender"? From the point of view of these people (knowing well that they are not yet quite fit for self-government), we must still admit that we are the army of Xerxes and they are the Lacedæmonians. The Dutch have lost 300,000 soldiers in trying to conquer the Malays of Sumatra.

I think wise men begin to see that Aguinaldo can keep up this fight indefinitely. Even while I write I hear the news of bigger fighting than ever and heavy losses sustained by the enemy, with the same fortitude that was shown at Bannockburn and Valley Forge. Many people who want to make money out of the government or out of the exploitation of the islands may flatter us that resistance is broken; but it is not. I have myself, on many a bloody skirmish-field, given water to the dying Filipinos and tied their broken and shattered limbs in a

rude way until the hospital corps came up. I have never seen in the face of any of Aguinaldo's soldiers anything that had the remotest connection with fear. They look you straight in the eye—from eyes that are clouding—and dare to show you that they hate and despise you.

It should also be said that many of the American soldiers are in sympathy with the Filipino contentions. I have met scores of volunteer soldiers and officers who were entirely out of sympathy with the war. The sentiment of the regular soldiers we are sending there may be different, but it cannot differ so much that danger will not come from the love of fair play that dominates Americans of all classes. I was on the dock at Manila when the first colored regiment landed and talked with some of the negro soldiers. One young man told me that it was his firm determination not to kill or wound any Filipinos that he could help. He said: "Dese shyar folks is jes' der same as our kullud folks was befo' de war. I doan believe in fightin' dese poor critters. I'se goin' to do my duty as a soldier and shoot when I'se tote; but I ain't goin' to aim, you bet, unless to save my own hide." Just then the lieutenant ordered, "Company F, fall in!" and my colored friend lifted his heavy knapsack and shouldered his gun. As he went away thus burdened with the appurtenances of the civilized soldier I heard him remark to one of his comrades, "Dis shyar white man's burden ain't all it's cracked up to be."

I see no way out of this but the shameful necessity of forcing Aguinaldo to surrender. Then withdraw our army from the islands as rapidly as possible; give entire home rule to the three great groups of islands, and keep our fleet in Manila Bay in force enough to preserve order. Help honestly the new republic in its first attempt to walk, which will doubtless be attended by much stumbling and awkwardness. Make the Filipino republic pay us the twenty millions that we gave to Spain. Retain Manila as American territory—to place us on a strong footing for the trade of China. Have suzerainty only over the foreign affairs of the new republic for the time being. In everything be honest.

PETER MACQUEEN.

W. Somerville, Mass.

THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

I. ITS HOPEFUL FUTURE.

THE trials through which France has passed in connection with the Dreyfus affair have given rise to numerous analyses of causative conditions in French government or social organization. Our English friends in particular seemingly await the approaching dissolution of the French Republic with a species of gloomy self-satisfaction—a satisfaction akin to that of the physician who has made his diagnosis of an incurable disease and looks forward with scientific interest to the inevitable collapse. In the case of the Republic, the diagnosis has discovered two contributory causes: first, the existence of an overwhelming military spirit, brooking no opposition and tending to the destruction of republican forms; second, the inherent weakness of the government, either for good or evil, and hence the inability of ministries to act with energy in times of crisis.

As to the militarism of the nation there can be no question; but has it been proved that this constitutes a danger? The enormous expenditure, willingly borne by France, for the maintenance of a great army system was due, originally, to a national desire for revenge upon Germany. This system has been organized under, and developed by, the government of the Republic; and while the desire for revenge has lapsed into a determination to be prepared for any international complication, no body of ministers has considered for a moment antagonizing the military interests by a curtailment of expenses. Again, the French army is not a "standing" army in the old sense of the term. It is a constantly shifting body of some five hundred and fifty thousand men, yearly losing one-third of its members and adding an equal number. Such a body of men cannot possibly have that solidarity of interests that constitutes the political strength of a permanent organization.

But once, during the present century, has any change in government or upheaval in social order had its origin in the French army, or in the military instincts of the French nation; and the one exception proves the rule, for the sudden substitution of one government for another, upon the return of Bonaparte from Elba, was due to the enthusiasm for the person of their leader felt by the veteran soldiers of the Napoleonic armies—men who had spent the best years of their lives in the calling of arms and who knew no other pursuit. There may be factions at work in the army, striving to create an upheaval; but until it is shown what these factions are and what strength they have, it is illogical to assume that the Republic is in danger merely because the military spirit is dominant in France.

The chief prophecy of evil is based, however, upon the unpreparedness of the French government to deal with the frequent characteristic periods of excitement—a weakness due, it is claimed, to imperfections in the machinery of government. Attention has been directed in particular to the requirement of a majority vote in the election of Deputies, to the committee system of the Chamber of Deputies, and to the abuse of the custom of interpellations. Briefly stated, the arguments used are as follows:

(1) The requirement of a majority vote in each electoral district often results, when there are more than two candidates, in the holding of secondary elections, in which the choice of the voter is limited to the two candidates receiving the highest vote at the previous election. The factions defeated at the first election are accused of selling their votes to the remaining contestants, for specific pledges of support. These pledges hamper the Deputy in rendering steady allegiance to his party in the legislature, and therefore make uncertain the support the Ministry may depend upon for its measures.

(2) The committees of the Chamber of Deputies are chosen by a mixed system of lot and election by the Chamber, rendering the political complexion of any particular committee a matter of chance. All bills, unless otherwise disposed of

by a majority vote of the Chamber, must pass through the hands of their appropriate committees. It follows that a committee, the majority of whose members is opposed to the party in power, may greatly embarrass the Ministry in its efforts to pass a bill, and, while not absolutely all-powerful to prevent the enactment of a law, may so harass the Ministry by those arts of delay known to the legislator as to force the acceptance of an emasculated bill. Thus the Ministry is discredited. In a well-organized cabinet system of government, the Ministry should either itself do the work of committees or should have the steady and friendly coöperation of the standing committees. Otherwise the government can neither fulfil its pledges nor act with vigor in critical periods.

(3) By the custom of interpellation any member of the Chamber of Deputies is at liberty to question the Ministry on any point in legislation, administration, or general policy. When the privilege is exercised merely for the purpose of obtaining information, no general debate is permitted and no vote is taken. When the Deputy takes advantage of the privilege to ask an unfriendly question, it becomes in effect a challenge to the Ministry to defend itself for its action in the field specified. General debate ensues and motions are made by any or all of the various factions in the Chamber. The Ministry selects, from the list presented, the motion acceptable to it. Upon that motion the question is put, and upon the vote taken the fate of the Ministry hangs, on the theory of political responsibility to a majority in the Chamber of Deputies. The motions presented during an interpellation are constructed with all manner of distinguishing clauses designed to catch the votes of as many factions as possible. Here, however, the Ministry has an equal chance with its avowed opponents. The real evil of the custom of interpellations lies in the unjust advantage given to the opposition in its ability to force a resignation upon some question of minor importance, when perhaps the general policy of the government is supported by the Chamber. The Deputy, brought face to face with a specific vote upon a specific question, loses sight of general policy in the anxiety to avert

criticism from himself. Since 1875 there have been twenty-seven Ministries, and of these fifteen have fallen upon interpellations, which, with a few exceptions, were directed toward some comparatively unimportant point in policy. Frequent change is inevitable under this abuse of the custom, and frequent change prevents strong government. The French system of interpellation had its origin in a period when Ministers were not politically responsible, and the *unfriendly question* was the only method of bringing public opinion to bear upon governmental action. Under such conditions its use was justifiable, but it has no rightful existence in the true parliamentary government.

The majority vote for Deputies, the committee system, and the abuse of interpellations are all undoubtedly detrimental to the successful working of the Cabinet system in France, but they in no sense constitute causes. Rather, they are the points of weakness in French government by means of which the real cause manifests itself and becomes effective. The primal cause is in fact the inability of the French to divide into two great parties, steadily opposed to each other in policy and in the practise of government. Such a division is essential to the proper organization of responsible ministerial government; for the true Cabinet system not only involves the responsibility of the Ministry to the majority of the representative body, but also requires that the majority shall faithfully support the Ministry so long as no unusual or unexpected change is made in the general trend of governmental policy. If French voters and politicians were organized into two great parties, the majority vote required for Deputies would lose its importance, since secondary elections would rarely occur; the committee system would no longer greatly hamper Ministers, for the government, confident of the support of a majority in the Chamber of Deputies, could absolutely control the progress of legislation; while even interpellations would lose their terror and would serve only to determine the relative strength of government and opposition, or to furnish opportunity for forensic display on the part of the ambitious Deputy.

Ever since the establishment of the present Republic the chief characteristic of French political organization has been the multiplicity of parties. Organization for political purposes is less thorough and much less effective in France than in other countries. The campaigns preceding general elections present the appearance of a number of distinct political battles in the different Departments, instead of a contest in each electoral district upon certain well-defined national issues. The candidate for the House of Députies, in his announcements and addresses to voters, does not dwell upon the great services that his party has rendered, or will render, to the nation; indeed, he avoids reference to any practical results that may be expected to follow his election. His speeches are intended rather to indicate his own personal views upon theoretical systems of government, or upon the proper spheres for governmental activity. In short, he is not specific, and he is not held in check by any feeling of allegiance to party lines or party principles. Both the candidate and the voter are seemingly more interested in ideals of government than in every-day questions of policy.

This emphasis upon the *ideal* in politics is in some small measure due to the tendency to idealization in all things, inherent in the French nation; but to a much greater degree it is the result of the rapid changes in forms of government since the revolution of 1789. The old monarchy was superseded by the first republic, followed at comparatively short intervals by the consulate and first empire, the restored monarchy, the so-called constitutional monarchy, the second république, and the second empire, until finally the third republic was reached. Each of these forms of government has its intense partizans who are hostile to any other form, and whose great desire is to overthrow that which exists in order to establish the only perfect and legitimate system. The natural result of this condition, and of the freedom from party control on the part of the individual Deputy, is that the members of the Chamber of Deputies, instead of being separated upon ordinary political lines, are arranged in various divisions and subdivisions of Monarchist, Imperialist, Ultramontane, and Republican groups,

and that the leaders of one Republican faction, in order to win a victory over another Republican faction, must seek support from men whose cardinal principle is enmity to the very existence of the Republic. Such support is never steady, and never to be depended upon; for the interest of the Monarchist is in his own party, and he upholds a Republican Ministry only so long as his own party interest is served. The system is utterly opposed to the proper working of parliamentary government, and while it lasts the existence of the Republic is, with justice, said to be in danger.

Now, in what way is the present agitation over the Dreyfus case likely to affect the Republic? It is asserted that the disturbances in Paris and in other parts of France will probably culminate in a *coup d'état* in favor of a Bourbon, or possibly of a Bonapartist, dynasty. But the time is past in the present crisis when such a *coup d'état* could be successfully executed. Publicity is not a prerequisite of sudden and forcible changes in governments; it is rather the most serious obstacle encountered by the political conspirator. In this case there has been too much talk and too little action. The history of France shows that the successful *coup d'état* requires a fair measure of secrecy, perfect organization, some degree of popular discontent with the form of government, and entire control of a department of administration capable of using force against counter movements. It is difficult to see where the union of these elements is to be found in the present crisis. Of secrecy there is none; organization is uncertain; popular discontent is manifested against the acts of a Republican Ministry, not against the forms of republican government; while the only department available to the conspirator is the army—and no one can pretend to speak with authority in regard to its attitude. All other departments of government are in the hands of the Ministry of the Republic; and, while that Ministry is undeniably weakened by the dissensions of its supporters, the extreme centralization of French government renders any government, however constituted, a power to be reckoned with in the last resort. The Republic may, of course, commit sui-

cide; but it is impossible to believe that the legislature of France, a large majority of whose members are upholders of the republican form of government, will permit it to do so.

Revolutions sometimes succeed where *coup d'états* fail. But here also, if history proves anything, the Monarchist meets an insuperable obstacle; for no revolution has been accomplished in France that did not propose, whether honestly or not, a betterment of the political position of the citizen. Even the restoration of the Bourbons in 1814, by the arms of Europe, purported to secure to the Frenchman a greater share in government than he had realized under Napoleon. Monarchy can find no political advantage to offer to the citizen of the French Republic.

"Add only that the French nation distinguishes itself among nations by the characteristic of excitability—with the good, but also with the perilous evil, which belongs to that." So wrote Carlyle in concluding an examination of the conditions in France antecedent to the great revolution of 1789. The history of French politics in the present century indicates that this characteristic has been a constantly augmenting force in determining the rise and fall of governments. The excitability of the French is a factor always present in political agitations of whatever moment; always to be counted on; never to be measured or controlled; used successfully now and then by the demagogue, and by turns overwhelming him by its sudden reversal or gradual subsidence. It is an unknown force capable of destroying the best of governments, and of bringing to naught the most logical deduction.

If, however, the crisis in France do not prove fatal to the Republic, is it not possible to hope that it may result, ultimately, in an improved political organization—hence in an increase of strength to the Republic? The development of parties since 1875 offers strong argument for such an outcome. In the constitutional convention that governed France from 1871 to 1875, the majority was opposed to the establishment of a Republic, and only consented to it when it became evident that the various royalist factions could not agree upon a

candidate for the throne. Once established, the Republic gained strength, and in the first election under the new constitution a Republican majority was returned to the Chamber of Deputies; while the minority was divided among Bourbon Monarchists, Orleanist Monarchists, Bonapartists, and clerical Ultramontanes. The last party assumed an attitude of hostility to the Republic, but refused to ally itself definitely with any one of the Monarchist groups. The Bonapartist group has never been dangerous, for the memory of the disgraceful weakness of the second empire in the Franco-Prussian war is still too vivid to permit enthusiasm for the Napoleonic dynasty. Since the older Bourbon line became extinct, the adherents of a Bourbon monarchy have united in favor of the Orleanist branch. But this does not necessarily insure increased power for the Monarchists; for many a faithful supporter of the older line, remembering the treachery of Louis Philippe in 1830, refused to enroll himself under a descendant of that prince, so that the strength of the united Monarchist party is numerically less than was that of the two factions.

Little change took place in the relative importance of the various parties until 1887. In that year General Boulanger began his movement, a movement whose purposes are so shrouded in mystery as to render uncertain the exact results he desired to obtain. His method was that of the agitator who attempts to inflame the populace by indirect and vague attacks upon the existing government, and to create a personal following to be used as circumstances should direct. For a time the Ministry exhibited all the usual signs of timidity in times of crisis, but in the end, gaining courage, summarily put a stop to the agitation and by law made it impossible for any man to stand for election, as did Boulanger, in more than one electoral district at one time. The result of the Boulanger movement was ultimately favorable to the Republic.

It was in indirect rather than direct results, however, that the Boulanger episode proved a benefit to the Republic. Whether justly or not, Boulanger was credited with intending the restoration of monarchy. Though the uncertainty that

veiled his purposes prevented the Monarchist party from committing itself to him, his failure inevitably resulted in discrediting that party. Under these circumstances the clericals in France, and at Rome, were forced to consider seriously whether the interests of the Church did not demand a change of policy for the Ultramontane party. The Church in France is in large measure directly dependent upon the government. The State pays the salaries, nominates the bishops, and confirms all other appointments; and religious matters are inextricably interwoven with all political questions. By 1890 the feeling was widespread that further alliance with a discredited party would be folly; and in 1892 the Pope, with the approval of clerical gatherings in France, publicly announced that the Catholic Church was "not necessarily opposed to a republican form of government in France." The effect was at once evident in the Chamber of Deputies. Many members of the Right formed themselves into a group called the "Constitutional Right;" that is, supporters of the Constitution, but conservatives. Here, then, as a result of a crisis successfully passed through, was the beginning of a party that, with time, may bring about the organization of two great parties, united upon the form of the government but separated upon the logical and natural lines of division in parliamentary governments; namely, radical or conservative action in the treatment of governmental affairs.

Is not the present crisis likely to result in a further strengthening of the Republic and in a further improvement in the party system? The grounds for believing that the Republic will weather the storm have already been stated. If the Republic does survive, it will undoubtedly be stronger than before; for time is on its side. At the moment when this is written, the Chamber of Deputies, upon one point at least—the Dreyfus case—has cast aside all factional lines and stands divided into two great parties. This division will not prove lasting, for it is based upon temporary causes; but the mere fact that a distinct division upon a question of politics is possible is, in this case, an indication of good rather than evil. The national in-

terest in the attempt of Boulanger was but trivial in comparison with the interest centered upon the condemnation of Dreyfus; yet that attempt caused a decided improvement in political organization and brought into being a tendency to party division on rational lines. The crisis of to-day, unless fatal to the Republic, will assuredly decrease the importance of the Monarchist and Anti-Republican groups, which have until now contained those elements best suited to the formation of a conservative party. If the hopelessness of the warfare upon the Republic is at last fully realized by the members of these groups, the opportunity should be excellent for a reorganization of parties.

When, then, the present agitation shall have subsided, and the Republic shall have emerged, uninjured, from the ordeal, is it not reasonable to hope that the separation of parties will cease to be based upon the form of government; that gradually two great parties—one liberal, the other conservative—will come into existence; and that the Republic, by the rational balance of these two parties, will at last acquire a true parliamentary system?

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II. ITS INHERENT STABILITY.

ON the fourth of September, 1899, the French Republic had lived twenty-nine years, the longest by nine years of any form of government France has had since Louis XVI. died a victim of a revolution bequeathed to him by the misdeeds of his ancestors and by his own entourage. When, on that Sunday afternoon a little more than a quarter of a century ago, Leon Gambetta proclaimed France a republic from the window of the historic Hotel de Ville, and thousands of voices greeted him with "Long live the Republic! Down with the Bonapartes!" statesmen and politicians shook their wise heads, as they do now, and predicted a very short life to that government which the most restless of city mobs had just acclaimed.

Their prophecies, however, have not been fulfilled, and the French Republic sees herself in her thirtieth year the friend and ally of the great Russian Empire, although we must admit she has had many evil days and has weathered many a storm. None of her Presidents have served their full term of office. M. Thiers was forced out by an anti-republican Assembly; Marshal MacMahon had to surrender an office that the Clerical party and monarchical intriguers attempted to warp to their evil intent; Jules Grévy, it is true, served his first term, but he wrecked his second at its very beginning by misplaced confidence in an unscrupulous son-in-law; Carnot, the martyr, fell shortly before the end of his term by the hand of an Italian assassin; M. Perrier's inglorious "coup de tête" needs no comment; M. Faure has just died, and Emile Loubet is his successor. Seven Presidents in twenty-nine years are too many, especially when the tenure of office was fixed at seven years; but the Republic still lives.

It has had, however, more serious problems to settle than presidential crises and changes of ministries. It has had to fight and put down the Parisian Communists and foil a Bourbon coalition; to maintain its supremacy against plotting factions; to enlighten the voters and warn them of General Boulanger—the purchased villain to the unholy conspiracy of Bonapartists, Legitimists, and Orleanists. Financial scandals, as yet half probed, have shaken it to its very foundation and have ruined scores of its supporters. The reverses of its army in Tonquin cast a gloom over the whole nation and caused distrust of its military leaders. No wonder that friends and foes alike should say at every political commotion: "This crisis may decide the fate of the French Republic!"

Fortunately for the Third Republic, the France of 1899 is far removed from the France of 1830 and 1852. It is older by many decades and has learned much by experience and age. It can no more be goaded to rise against a hated Bourbon, for there are no more Bourbons to fight. The Orleanist princes are politically dead. Their abject submission to the Comte de Chambord at Frodsdorf, their unscrupulous plotting by and

through Boulanger, and their laughable manifestoes have failed to disturb France and have demonstrated the unlikelihood of an Orleanist prince ever ruling her. As for the Bonapartes, who seriously expects to see a restoration in their favor? What Louis Bonaparte did in 1852 cannot be done again; he had then the prestige of his uncle's name, the help of the clergy, and the unthinking vote of millions (suddenly enfranchised) who were easily led at the election of the Prince-President. He had also the aid of republican socialists—a set of wild theorists who terrorized the illiterate peasantry. The standard-bearer of the Napoleonic dynasty must remove the disgrace of Sedan, the loss of two provinces, and the ignominious fall of Napoleon III. before donning the imperial crown. The sword of Napoleon the Great was picked up by a naked Zulu in Africa on the spot where fell the son of Napoleon "le petit." Irony of fate, indeed, and sign infallible that times have changed!

The half-drunken soldiery passively obeyed the command to shoot inoffensive citizens at the time of the *coup d'état*; to-day the army is the armed nation. Rich and poor drill side by side; they are no longer illiterate; education has made many of them the peers of the officers in command; they cannot be used for a *coup d'état* again. The clergy have rallied to the French Republic. Inspired by that high-minded prelate, Leo XIII., they have ceased their warring against a republican form of government; for from its coffers they receive their monthly stipends. Their enmity could not destroy the government, and their help may greatly strengthen it. Wherein lies the greatest strength of the Third Republic is her schools. The millions of francs spent since the Franco-Prussian war in establishing secular schools and in educating the people have materially changed France and made of her a new people.

The question, Whence does the French Constitution derive its strength? may be answered by referring briefly to its history. An anti-republican Assembly, elected in February, 1871, merely to treat for peace, arrogantly took upon itself to give France a king; and, failing in that, it gave a Constitution as near in spirit and form to monarchy as could possibly be. The

Deputies of the Assembly that met at Bordeaux early in February, 1871, had no constituent power conferred on them by the decree of January 29, or by the election of February that called them. French voters, very anxious for peace, had called to the nation's counsel men who promised to treat with the German conqueror and obtain from him the best terms possible under the circumstances. Nothing was said about their voting France a Constitution or giving her *any* form of government. Hardly had they organized and given to Thiers the executive power than they boldly proclaimed that they were the depositaries of the sovereign will, and on the 31st of August they solemnly declared that they had the right of constituent power and had been prevented from exercising it by imperious duties. The very name of "National Assembly" indicated plainly that they were not a constituent body, and therefore not authorized to give France a king and later a Constitution. Legally they had no such power, but, as the end has justified the means, so all sincere republicans who have the welfare of France at heart must rejoice that the National Assembly transcended its power when it framed the Constitution of February, 1875.

M. Thiers's perspicacity was never keener than when he told them that their attempt at king-making would come to naught; that there were too many irreconcilable elements among them successfully to establish a monarchy; and that the only government possible for France was a republic. He advised it as the only legal government, and encouraged the Assembly to rally to the republican standard and make it strong and conservative. This bold utterance of the old Philippist, contained in his message of November 13, 1872, stung the majority to the quick. They took their revenge by curtailing the Executive's right of speech. Shortly before this, M. Batbie had a bill passed that represented the true sentiment of the majority. The princes of the house of Bourbon were permitted to return—not the Bourbon and Orleanist princes, but the princes of the house of Bourbon: thus trying to create the impression, throughout France at least, that the two branches are one. The bill, though skilfully drawn, could not remove from

Frenchmen's minds the lingering historic fact that Philippe Egalité had voted with the regicides who sent Louis XVI. to the scaffold. Neither could the rank and file of the Orleanists and Legitimists forget the impassable chasm between the ancient *régime* represented by the Comte de Chambord and the principles of the Revolution of 1830. As well try to mix oil and water as to reconcile the respective supporters of two principles so wide apart.

Meanwhile France clamored louder and louder through the press for a dissolution and for the election of a constituent assembly that should represent the views of the country. Partial elections had been repeatedly held, with flattering results for the republicans. In April, 1873, Paris elected Barodet, a radical, and defeated de Remusat, a very mild republican. The Assembly saw in that election the growth of radicalism, and decided to avert any danger from that side by hastily bringing about a restoration; accordingly M. Thiers was forced out of power on the 24th of May, 1873, and Marshal MacMahon, by prearrangement, was elected in his stead. Three months later the plotting Assembly played its last dice and came near succeeding. On August 5th, at the residence of the Comte de Chambord, the Count of Paris knelt at the feet of the childless Count, lowered the tricolor of his grandfather to the white flag, and consented to wait for the crown until his distant relative should be pleased to hand it over to him.

To the Legitimists and most of the loyal Orleanists of the Assembly, the step taken at Frodsdorf was a shrewd political move; to the adherents of the "Monarchie de Juillet" outside the Assembly, and to a few inside, it was a humiliation unspeakable—so great that it drove them into the ranks of the republicans. The Count of Paris had sealed his fate; the Comte de Chambord soon after sealed his. He was invited to come and rule France with the tricolor and a Constitution adapted to the needs of the age. He was obdurate. If France wanted him he would return with the flag and the ancient prerogatives of his noble house. The last of the Bourbons had rendered a great service to France: his obstinacy had saved the

country from interneine difficulties. All prospects of a restoration had vanished forever; yet the Assembly, impotent to make a king and unwilling to go home, voted down (by 374 against 333) a motion of M. Casimir-Périer to proclaim the Republic. Later, the venerable scholar and diplomat Laboulaye begged them with no better success to accept the amendment of the "left center" declaring in favor of the Republic. Strange to say, a day later, January 30, 1875, the Legitimists and Orleanists, fearing the Bonapartists and growing desperate, voted for M. Wallon's amendment recognizing the Republic, as "nothing better could be found." The laws organizing the public powers were then passed, February 24-25, 1875, and the Constitution of France to-day, with two slight amendments, is the Constitution that a majority of one presented to France twenty-two years ago. The strength of the French Constitution, which space is lacking to give in full, lies in Articles 6 and 8, which read as follows:

"Art. 6.—The Ministers are responsible, as a whole, before the Chambers for the general policy of the government, and individually for their personal acts. The President of the Republic is only responsible for high treason.

"Art. 8.—The Chambers shall have the right, by separate deliberation taken in each Chamber, by an absolute majority of votes, either voluntarily or on the demand of the President of the Republic, to declare that there are substantial reasons for the revision of the constitutional laws. After each of the two Chambers shall have passed this resolution, they shall reunite in National Assembly and proceed to the revision. The laws enacting a revision of the constitutional laws, in whole or in part, shall be passed by an absolute majority of the members composing the National Assembly."

During the period for which the law of November 20, 1873, confers powers upon Marshal MacMahon, this revision can only take place on the proposition of the President of the Republic. Ministers appointed by the President, but responsible as a whole for the general policy of the government, are liable to frequent overturning, as repeated ministerial crises have shown. A "no confidence vote," which simply means

lack of support, however trivial, brings about the fall of the Ministry. This has been illustrated in England, when the most narrow vote on the most trivial motion—the reduction by one hundred pounds sterling of the salary of the Secretary of War—caused the fall of the Rosebery cabinet.

The Assembly patterned that article after the English system rather than the American, and wisely too; for the Constitution of 1852, which rendered the Ministers only subject to the Chief of State and the Chief of State only responsible to the nation, permitted that arch-conspirator and traitor, Louis Bonaparte, to throttle the Republic and don the imperial crown. Boulanger, in his halcyon days, when secretly in the pay of anti-republicans of all shades, advocated the American system as more favorable to his plans. Judged in the light of the past, the Republic is far safer with Ministries responsible to the Chambers than to the President alone. Had ill-advised Mac-Mahon been able to rule France with a cabinet responsible to himself alone, who can say what would have resulted from his attempted *coup d'état*?

The greatest guarantee of the stability of the Republic lies in the difficulty all have found to amend the Constitution. True, article 8 was devised as a means gently to pass from a republic to a monarchy; but the framers unconsciously fettered their own hands and strengthened the republican form of government. No one but the Marshal-President could during his incumbency of office ask for a revision of the Constitution; but each Chamber had to say that there were "substantial reasons for the revision of the constitutional laws" before they could meet to bring about the desired change. After the resignation of the Marshal, either the government or the Chambers took the initiative in the matter; and twice the Chambers have met slightly to amend the organic laws of February, 1875. At a careful reading, article 8 would seem to mean that, a revision once decided on by both Chambers, the National Assembly had only to meet, discuss, and amend by "an absolute majority of votes" any article proposed by any member. Not so, however; the very point to be discussed and the proposed

amendment must be separately considered by each Chamber, and if agreed to carried to the National Assembly to claim its exclusive attention.

Any one can see how difficult it is, with Senate and Chamber voting separately on a single proposition or series of propositions, ever to agree to discuss *in toto* the Constitution in the National Assembly. Before the two bodies meet the whole of France knows what they propose to do, so the most practical construction has been given. The Constitution said that Versailles should be the seat of the Chambers. As it was inconvenient for Ministers and members alike to travel daily back and forth from Paris, the question came up to change the seat of government from Versailles to Paris. Article 8 had to be construed for the first time. The momentous question stared legislators in the face. It was known that some wanted a complete revision of the Constitution. What was to be done? Would each Chamber merely declare that there was occasion to revise the Constitution and then meet? But what prevented any one from springing on the Assembly the revision of the whole Constitution? It was necessary to guard against this contingency; therefore, to construe Article 8 and create a precedent, the Republicans, Gambetta foremost among them, saw the danger lurking ahead, and with a wisdom equal to that shown by the Supreme Court of the United States in many instances in construing the Constitution, they declared that both Chambers must agree upon the amendment before the meeting of the National Assembly and that discussions and votes in that body must be confined to said amendment.

Those who may doubt the wisdom of such a construction have only to compare the slow, progressive development of constitutional law in France, during the last twenty years, with the numerous and much-revised constitutions France has had from 1792 to 1875, to be convinced that Article 8, as construed, is the greatest safeguard to the stability of the Third Republic. The Royalists had expected a different working of their pet Constitution: they did not give their wisdom and thought in the interest of the Republic; nevertheless they builded better

than they knew, and served republican interests better than the republicans themselves could have done. They fettered the logic of their French minds and thereby gave France strong, conservative institutions—not perfect, indeed, but institutions that have now been twenty-nine years in existence, and that in a country that has changed twice from a republic to an empire, has worn out two royal dynasties, has repudiated two emperors and driven into exile two kings out of three in one hundred years.

President Faure has just died, and within two days from his demise a successor was chosen, rallying about him all the health and vigor of the nation. True, the Dreyfus agitation is not yet quiescent, and factions may come to blows—partizans and anti-partizans of the military chiefs may wrangle; yet on every opportune occasion Premiers have reiterated that the army must be subordinate to the civil authorities: an immense step forward for the welfare of France in that simple declaration. The Republic is enormously prosperous; it commands respect abroad—the foreign correspondents of our dailies to the contrary notwithstanding; it is peaceful, and not a disturbing element in Europe, as was the government of Napoleon III. before its ignominious crash.

Frenchmen may find fault with their rulers and use strong epithets against them, but they are thriving; and, shrewd financiers as they are, they will let well enough alone.

France is also becoming decentralized. Its provincial academies have become universities; they are becoming more and more centers of thought. Paris no longer rules supreme. The provinces are revindicating their rights and will not allow a Deroulede or an irresponsible journal like the *Libre Parole* to make or mar their institutions. They may succeed in upsetting a Ministry, but they are not powerful enough to change a form of government.

Is, then, the French Republic firmly established? A close student of her history and of the sentiment of her people, as expressed by their votes, must answer in the affirmative. It is certainly a historic fact that the Republic is more firmly im-

planted on Gallic soil than any government France has had for one hundred years. As Americans, we have a paramount interest in seeing a republic succeed in the midst of monarchical Europe. Then let us not magnify her shortcomings or criticize France's public men in a fault-finding spirit; for if the Republic fails, liberalism in Europe will receive so staggering a blow that its march will be retarded many decades.

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III. DREYFUS THE MARTYR.

THE power of government under a Republic is the delegated authority that the representatives of the people exercise. By the conduct of her representatives must a Republic stand or fall. The civilization of each epoch creates the standard unit of merit or demerit—of condemnation or commendation—by which the actions of nations are measured. A crime against the intelligence of the Dark Ages appears not so flagrant as against the intelligence of the highest civilization the world has ever known.

France, having the light of the centuries to guide her, the past fraught with precept and example, would be expected to acquit herself of her responsibility in a manner becoming her possibilities of knowledge. Judging her culpability by her knowledge of right, the condemnation of Dreyfus stands out against the whitest canvas justice has yet uplifted—the darkest crime of the centuries. His pardon—the offspring of cowardice, the mask of treachery, and the thin veil with which France seeks to cover her wanton injustice—is a peace offering to silence a clamorous world, which demands that the innocent accused be relieved of all taint of guilt.

To-day, before the nations of earth, France stands adjudged as lacking the moral stamina to acquit herself of a known duty. To the student of national life she is a crystallized embryo still clad in swaddling-clothes, but having attained to strength

that she wields in a perverse and incautious way—recking not for good or ill. The power to achieve inheres in reasoning beings; movement is the law of nations as well as of matter; rest is a negative condition. Progress is upward; decadence, downward. There is no table-land at the apex of rise and fall on which a nation may rest. The ultimate absorption of France by a homogeneous people is seemingly the destiny of the Republic.

The patriotism of Dreyfus stands unexampled in the annals of men. Love of country is the natural reciprocation of the protected child of the Republic. That the outcast, stung by every ripple and blinded by every gleam of his country's shining flag, should exultingly exclaim, "Long may she wave!" almost transcends belief. His patriotism should incite in Frenchmen a love of country. If the accused call benedictions upon the head of the oppressor, who shall assault the perpetuity of France?—but not all Frenchmen have Dreyfusian patriotism. Accursed by the State he served, the instinct of patriotism, still alive, burst forth—"I am a Frenchman!" Through weary days, stretching into years, alone on a dreary island, far from home and friends, bereft of wife and children, stripped of all that life holds dear, the canopy of heaven his only covering, venomous insects his only companions, execrated punishment his portion—reason might totter, the monotony of a familiar scene might become strange, life-blood might become stagnant, the proffered means to end life's tragic drama might be accepted. And who could censure? But, with failing, gasping breath, this modern martyr of the olden school wafts his devotion to country across arid waste and billowy ocean—"I am a Frenchman!" What more lofty sentiments—to what higher and purer realms of patriotism has the wingèd soul of man ever attained? Should the mothers of the Republic cradle their offspring to the lullaby of this man's unflinching and unwavering love of country, France through countless ages would stand a memorial to the constancy of her sons and the devotion of her daughters.

High above the groveling malice and baseness of his ac-

cusers floats the pennant of this man's hopes and aspirations for his country. France cast him off; history takes him up; for him she will weave a chaplet of immortelles as enduring as liberty; to him each succeeding age will pay homage; for him shall virtue attune her lyre; for him shall fame's undying fires be kindled, and at his mausoleum shall justice ever stand guard.

The authors of this tragedy say our condemnation counts for naught. If so, it is the death-knell of justice in France—it marks the depths to which France has sunk. But we trust that the embers of stifled justice may yet shed their hallowed glow and ruddy light across this scene of infamy. Do the Dreyfusians decry the name of France? Not they. Do they hope to rehabilitate justice? Over the crumbled ruins of tyranny they trust that the radiant light of kindness may yet shine, and that an enlightened philanthropy will knit together the broken bones and bind up the aching wounds of their oppressed countryman—and restore a harmony as beneficent as it is just.

Justice! Justice! O thou departed nymph, to what sylvan bower hast thou flown? Amid what equations dost thou lend thy home-spun graces; or hast thou changed form—been re-incarnated—by the arch-enemy, the plausible sophist Wrong? Or hast thou grown weary of the return of equal for equal; caught the spirit of greed; clothed thyself in the delusive raiment of a passing scene; canceled thy precepts, and become a devotee of the god of Mammon? A waiting world—a breathless populace—looks over the mountain-tops, through the valleys, across the plains, in sequestered nooks, in dark caves, by flowing streams, in the hovels of distress, in the haunts of the thoughtless gay, in the busy streets, in the mansions of the opulent, in the lone widow's cabin: hoping thou mayest be found. Tell us, oh tell us, thou once radiant adjuster of the ills of the oppressed, when thou wilt return, set aside tardy pardon granted to the innocent, and re-clothe with the vestment and sanctity of unblemished reputation those whom mock courts have found blamable!

France may brave the ignominy of her conduct—she may assert that in the regulating of her internal affairs she is supreme; but before the mighty onslaught of outraged justice the walls of tyranny must fall. Its citadels in all parts of the earth have given way—in the jungles only, of deepest intrenchment, its basilisks still belch forth. But the lines of an unnumbered host are advancing; their footfall and victorious cry of liberty resound above debauched Republics, falling dynasties, and overturned monarchies; the palisades of injustice are being taken by the enlightened conscience of an onward-moving civilization. Will the usurpation of government stand before the charge of the unnumbered hosts of earth's lovers of justice? Has the night set in? Has the great wheel of human evolution reversed its course?

The pall of darkness is settling over France. Will its ebony blackness enfold the gentle emotions of life? Will it exclude from the suffering, by its enveloping folds, the kindly charity of a world? Has virtue no X-rays that will pierce the murky veil that envelops the outcast? Has humanity no elixir that will dissipate the storm-clouds of injustice that threaten liberty? Shall the unproved charges of the dissolute and debauched sons of vice be stamped upon the reputation of the guiltless? Shall the burning diadem of false accusation crown the head and wreck the life of the victim of injustice? Shall pardon, vile and bitter, harass the ear, moisten the lips, and dampen the brow of him who, tried at the bar of nations, is held to be blameless? Shall the pillars erected to the memory of patriots, whose lives were beneficent and helpful, crumble in to-morrow's dust—to be trampled in the slime of the streets by a thoughtless people? Shall the ruddy glint of to-morrow's sunrise gild the bier of departed justice? Shall the moon's pale light guide the footsteps of innocence to the altar of martyrdom amid the protest of a world? The Republic of France must answer.

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DIRECT LEGISLATION IN SWITZERLAND AND AMERICA.

BY Direct Legislation is meant the following:

B 1. *The Optional Referendum*.—The right of a fraction of the voters—say five per cent.—to require by petition that a law or ordinance adopted by the legislature, Congress, or a municipal council shall be submitted to popular vote.

2. *The Compulsory Referendum*.—The constitutional requirement that *all* laws and ordinances (excepting urgency measures and the existing budget) be submitted to popular vote.

3. *The Initiative*.—The right of an individual or group of voters to draw up a completely formulated bill and to require, upon petition of say five per cent. of the voters, that the bill without amendment shall be submitted to popular vote.

A majority of votes cast decides in each case.

American examples of the *compulsory referendum* are the vote on State Constitutions and constitutional amendments; local option or liquor-selling; municipal and town vote on borrowing money, purchasing or erecting water-works, gas, or electric-light plants, or constructing large public improvements. The *optional referendum* and the *initiative* have been recently adopted with various modifications in South Dakota, Nebraska, and San Francisco, Cal. The Swiss Confederation and every Swiss canton (except one) have adopted the three forms of direct legislation. The genuineness of direct legislation depends upon the details. It may be so hedged in by hostile restrictions as to be almost worthless. Such restrictions are, for example, the excessive number of petitioners required, as in Nebraska—fifteen per cent.; vexatious obstacles to legal signatures; formalities, time limits, etc. These are fully explained in the books and articles referred to below.

Some of the explanations offered to account for the success

of direct legislation in Switzerland show a curious reversal of cause and effect. They seem to imply that the Swiss people dropped into the Initiative and Referendum through the possession of some unexplained hereditary instinct, just as an insect flies to its proper food without being taught. It is said that direct legislation is successful in Switzerland while it would not be so in England and America, because the Swiss have no hard-and-fast "parties;" because they have greater respect for one another's opinions; because they do not have wide extremes of wealth; because they do not vote against legislators for reëlection even though they vote against the laws of these same legislators at the referendum; because they are a quiet, peaceable, home-staying folk, etc. It is true that these qualities accompany successful direct legislation; but they are its fruits, not its soil. They are results of the referendum, not its causes. The Swiss were at one time the mercenary soldiers of European kings and dukes, and they brought to their homes the low morals and turbulence of such a life. Yet it is agreed that, in the cantons that formerly were noted for violence and bloodshed, there has been a marked decline in homicide and other forms of crime since the introduction of lawmaking by the people.

The Swiss reëlect their legislators even when opposed to their politics—not because the Swiss have a kind of quaint, absurd instinct for keeping the same man always in office, but because they know that he does not have the final decision anyhow, and they are willing to have his expert advice even though they do not accept it. They employ their lawmakers as we do our lawyers and doctors—not to dictate what we shall buy and sell, eat and drink, but to arrange the details; to tell us *how* to buy and sell, and *how* to keep our health. Our family doctor is not a boss, and we keep him even when we violate all his good advice. So the Swiss reëlect their lawmakers, not as lawmakers, but as a statutory revision commission. This is a result of the referendum, not a condition precedent.

The Swiss have not developed political parties because their direct lawmaking obviates the need of parties. It is an easy

matter to get together a new party on each new question of importance as it arises. To introduce a measure into politics and get it enacted into law it is not necessary first to find a party that will adopt it in a platform, but those interested can place it directly on the statute-book by petition and popular vote. Where a party is relied upon to take up an issue, there is prospect of its repudiation after election, and the voters must stay by the party and must accept all its other planks, even against their judgment, or else lose their favorite one. Consequently, party organization and party solidarity are the first conditions of success, and voters are even prone to place party above principles. Bitter execration follows the man that abandons his party—more bitter than that heaped upon the long-standing foe—because the party is the only means of successful political action. All this is absent in Switzerland. A standing party, with machinery always at work, is a waste of effort where the people can get the laws they want by direct vote.

Why do the Swiss people respect one another's opinions and consider it an indignity to influence another's vote at elections?* Because they know that each man's opinions count. Each man votes directly upon issues; his votes for candidates are secondary. He is never humiliated by seeing his opinions spurned by the very legislators who before election pledged to support them. Opinions, like men, are seriously respected only when they have power. Then only do they truly *command* respect.

The Swiss people are free from the corrupting extremes of wealth, largely because the referendum headed off the encroachments of boodlers, bribers, and monopolists, together with all kinds of special legislation by which so many American fortunes have been created. Prior to the referendum Switzerland was going through an era of political villainy quite similar to that which the American people know so well. In fact Swiss politics from 1830 to 1860 reads quite like a chapter in

*See article by Prof. Jesse Macy, "The Swiss and Their Politics," in *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. i, pp. 31-33.

current America. It was no abstract philosophy nor democratic instinct that brought the referendum. The people were driven to it as the only certain means of expelling corrupt wealth from politics. The alliance between the private corporations—the railways and the banks—that furnished the funds and the politicians who manipulated the people was exactly that to which Americans are now slowly opening their eyes. No matter which of the two parties elected its candidates, the result was the same. Election promises were violated—the people were sold out. Franchises were granted, subsidies and tax exemptions were bestowed, and extremes of wealth and poverty were forced upon the people by law, simply because the lawmakers were absolute. They voted these special privileges; they received their share and their perquisites from the boodlers; they were building up political machines and controlling elections with these funds taken from the people, and there was no restraint. The referendum was the remedy. The canton of Vaud adopted it immediately following an especially exasperating grant of subsidy to a railroad corporation.* Other cantons followed. The movement is likened by Deploige to a perfect wave of democracy sweeping over the country. The remedy was complete. Switzerland was rescued from evils that now threaten the life of other democracies. No longer could lawmakers sell out the people; they could no longer "deliver the goods." The people themselves must ratify the sale. The referendum was the people's veto.

It must not be thought that in America the people have not been as wide awake as in Switzerland. They have had similar experience. They have seen their representative bodies violate pledges and sell the people's birthright to corporations.

*See Deploige: "The Referendum in Switzerland," London, 1898, p. 82. This book is the best complete account of the history and workings of Direct Legislation. It is written by a Belgian, and is translated into English by C. P. Trevelyan, with notes and a good bibliography by Miss Lilian Tomm, the editor. Neither the author nor the editor is an advocate of the measure. They seem chargeable with the misconception above noted of what is to be accomplished by the referendum. Yet they give abundant material on both sides for independent judgment.

They have struggled vigorously to stop the abuse, but they have developed, not the people's veto, but the executive veto and the judiciary veto. To understand the present need of the referendum we need to understand this diverse development in Switzerland and America in the effort to resist the same political outrages.

Representative government originated in the Swiss cantons in much the same way that it did in the American colonies. The government had been feudal and aristocratic. The people arose in revolt and conducted their revolt through the leadership of their own elected representatives. This was in Switzerland in 1830 as in America in 1776. When revolution was successful in both countries, the legislatures thus elected became naturally sovereign in the place of the expelled rulers. There was no division of power between the three branches of executive, judiciary, and legislature, but the legislature was the sole and absolute sovereign. Judges and governors were appointed by it. In five States it was even a court of appeals, like a House of Lords. It contained the ablest men of the cantons or the colonies—men who were truly representative and who showed their ability by their management of a successful rebellion.

These legislatures, however, were not elected by universal suffrage. They were legislatures of property-owners. It was not until the decades of the twenties to the forties in America, and following the revolution of 1830 in Switzerland, that universal manhood suffrage, without qualification of property, religion, or education, became established as the basis of electing the legislators. This introduced a new and inconsistent feature. It had been firmly asserted in both countries that the people were sovereign, but it was thought that their sovereignty would be fully assured if every man had a vote for a delegate who actually exercised sovereignty. The result was a disappointment. Universal suffrage introduced conflicting interests into the elections. Property-owners, when voting alone as a class, could elect their own best men, just as a private corporation of stockholders can elect their directors without interfer-

ence from outside. But when the property-owners were compelled to vote with the non-propertied, with the uneducated, the foreigner, the unbeliever—all these discordant elements were unable to agree on one man who should represent all. It was as if the stockholders of a railway corporation should be forced to admit their employees to an equal vote on the basis of numbers in electing their president. Such a president would not be a leader either of the stockholders or employees; he would be a compromise—a “dark horse”—of some kind. So it was with the legislatures. They quickly fell into the hands of professional politicians and wirepullers, whose shrewdness could marshal majorities or pluralities from these conflicting classes. Immediately these politicians allied themselves with the new class of speculators and capitalists who were coming upon the stage with the railways, the bank, the corporation, the mechanical inventions, and the new sources of unprecedented wealth. We have seen the outcome. The legislatures degenerated and became the tools of the speculators, and the latter seized upon the property and privileges of the people. The people must now either depose their legislators or tie their hands. The former was impossible, for headship must reside somewhere. They proceeded to tie their hands.

In Switzerland the only way to do this was to give the people a veto over the specific acts of the lawmakers. There must be a veto somewhere, because the people had found that no matter how they voted for candidates they could only displace one party by another—one set of ringsters by another set. The only veto they could adopt was the people's veto, because they could not call in foreigners, and they had never conceived the idea of an executive or a judge independent of the legislature.

But in America a different course was open. While the legislatures were supreme in the new State Constitutions formed during the revolution and in the Continental Congress, yet when it came to the Federal Constitution a new theory was adopted. This theory was supposed to have come from the English Constitution, but it came by the way of France and

was more logical but less truthful than it would have been had it been stated by Englishmen. It was the theory of the three branches of government—the executive, the judiciary, the legislature—each independent of the others and each a check and a balance on the others. Influenced by this theory, the framers of the Federal Constitution made the President elective—not by the people indeed, but by an Electoral College independent of Congress and, it was hoped, independent of the people. In the early years, however, it was still the Congressmen of the two parties who actually nominated the Presidential candidates. Not until the time of Andrew Jackson and the rise of the party convention did the people take the nomination away from Congressmen. The reason for this innovation was plain. They believed that Congress was controlled by the wealth and aristocracy of the land. They saw the deal it had made with the private corporation known as the United States Bank. This bank, with its powerful monopoly of money, threatened to control the government, to intimidate the voters, and to fleece the people. The people turned to Andrew Jackson. They made him almost dictator. They took advantage of his constitutional veto to break the alliance between private speculators and Congress. For the time being the executive veto was successful and overwhelming. It was not necessary to invent a people's veto.

In the State governments the Executive's power over the legislature has been introduced by direct and formal revision of the Constitution; whereas, in the Federal government, as we have just seen, it was brought about by subordinating the electoral college to the party convention. In the thirteen revolutionary Constitutions the Governor had no veto, except in Massachusetts and New York, where it was narrowly limited.* In no State did he appoint officers singly. These were chosen by the legislature. His term was the shortest possible—only

*Historical statements here given are based on the valuable monograph by Judge Horace Davis, in the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, entitled "American Constitutions: the Relations of the Three Departments as Adjusted by a Century." Baltimore, 1885.

one year in ten States. In six States reëlection was prohibited. Every State legislature elected a Privy Council to sit with him, whose advice and consent he was required to secure on all important acts. He was plainly dreaded. But in the Constitutions of the new States, beginning with Ohio in 1802, the Federal plan was imitated. And when, after the war of 1812, the older States grew dissatisfied with their legislatures, the revisions of State Constitutions restored to the Governor the power he had held as colonial representative of the king. Every State revision since then has added to his power and in turn has stripped the legislature. He has now the veto in nearly all. He appoints officials and judges. But, more significant, the Constitutions place all kinds of obstacles in the way of the legislatures. They cannot hold annual sessions. They cannot sit more than two or three months. Special legislation is prohibited. Minute regulations are prescribed as to the introduction, reading, and adoption of bills. Where these restrictions have not yet been imposed, there is scarcely any other demand so popular. In fact the legislatures, more than the Governors, now are dreaded.

Yet more striking is the suppression of the municipal legislatures. These were also originally supreme in the cities. But here the "federal plan" has overreached itself. The mayor has not only been given the veto, but he and his appointees are the government. There is no pretext of checks and balances. The board of aldermen has practically disappeared, or where it still holds a vestige of authority its power is believed to be a mischievous relic.

So much, briefly, for the executive veto. The judiciary veto is the unique feature of American government. We do not appreciate its novelty nor the grounds of its popularity and urgency. Two developments of the judiciary have occurred, both provoked by the degeneracy of the legislatures. The one is the veto; the other is the popular election of the judges. When, through the revision of Constitutions, the legislatures were hemmed in and tethered, there was urgent need of machinery for holding them to the restrictions thus prescribed.

The legislature could not be effectively muzzled by a written Constitution, if itself continued to be the final interpreter of that Constitution. In lieu, therefore, of a popular veto, the judiciary was naturally given the final decision as to the constitutionality of the acts of the legislature. And the Governor, too, was put under judicial dominion, for the Constitution also definitely limited his powers.

At the same time the judges were made elective by popular vote. This again is unique and peculiar to America. No other great country elects its judges. It also is recent, and dates only from those constitutional revisions that accompanied and followed universal suffrage and legislative incompetency. New York was the first to make this provision for the highest courts, and this was done as late as 1846. The reason is plain. Judges could not veto the legislature and Governor if their positions and salaries were dependent upon them. They must get their authority direct from the people if they were really to be a third branch of government. The Federal judiciary has escaped this fate because the Federal Constitution is hardly amendable. But the Federal Supreme Court has seldom used its veto on the President and Congress. Its principal field has been in the control of the State governments. The State judiciary, on the other hand, in thirty-three States is now elected by the people, whereas it formerly was elected by the legislature.*

Thus in nation, State, and city, the legislative branch of government has been fettered and suppressed. The executive and the judicial branches have been exalted over it. But, instead of curing the legislature, the remedy has only infected the other branches with the legislature's vices. The Executive is equally the creature of the politicians. After reformers in New York had bestowed on the mayor the powers of the obsolete aldermen: they are surprised to hear him announce that it is not he but Tammany Hall that has taken the contract for

*See article by Frank Gaylord Cook, in the *Atlantic Monthly* for June, 1899: "Politics and the Judiciary."

governing the metropolis.* The President's veto gives him large powers in legislation, but for that very reason he has been made the creature of partisan machinery. The Constitution attempted to provide for a non-partisan like George Washington. But, so long as the President has political power, the politicians and the corporations are compelled to exert themselves to control his nomination and election. The Federal judges are appointed by the President from members of his own party, or from those who agree with him on corporation law. The State judges are ominously the creatures of political methods. Candidates for the judiciary in New York City pay Tammany Hall \$5,000 to \$10,000 for their offices. Candidates for the chief-justiceship of the State have been nominated by the State central committee, without the trouble of calling a convention of the people.† Professor Kenneson, of New York University, says publicly to his graduating class of youthful lawyers: "Profound knowledge of your profession, high ideals of your calling, never will commend you to the boss for nomination to the bench, nor lead the average judge to name you as referee. Such things go by political preferment, and not by merit."‡

Did the facts conform to the theory, the judiciary veto would be consistent. The theory holds that the people are sovereign; that they express their will in a written Constitution; that the judiciary is merely their agent in enforcing their constitutional will upon the other departments. But the Constitutions are carefully guarded so as not to express the people's will. It is inaccurate to hold that a Federal Constitution adopted one hundred years ago and amended only through civil war§

*The advantage of the referendum as a measure for taking the mayor out of politics and making him actually, as he is in theory, the "business head" of the city, is presented in an article on "The Three-fold Problem of City Government," by the present writer, in *Progress* for March, 1899, published by the University Association, Chicago.

†See article by Mr. Cook, above cited. Mr. Cook argues for return to appointment of judges. This is not possible so long as judges have a veto on the other branches of government. New York has voted it down by 3 to 1.

‡See New York daily papers of June 15 to 20, 1899.

§The original twelve amendments belonged properly to the original adoption of the whole.

should express in all its parts the will of the living generation. To amend the Constitution requires a two-thirds vote in Congress and a three-fourths vote of the States. Practically this means that the politicians now in office are impregnable. So with the State Constitutions. Pennsylvania permits only one amendment in five years. Others permit only one at a time. All amendments must originate in the very legislatures whose privileges the people are striving to lessen. Even then in many States two successive legislatures must agree on the amendment.* And finally, the people have often only the choice of either accepting an amendment that is doctored contrary to their taste, or of retaining a provision that has been outgrown or has been interpreted by the courts without their consent.

The case is worse when a total revision of the Constitution is attempted. Total revisions ought never to be needed, but sometimes they are the only way of getting the partial amendments demanded. Then a constitutional convention—elected under the party system, like the legislature—submits a completed instrument, minute in details and involved in technicalities, and the sovereign people is given the empty option of approving it as a whole or retaining the existing Constitution. This decision usually turns on one or two paragraphs, and the many important parallel clauses are swallowed or overlooked. No wonder we do not have lawyers or judges nowadays emphasizing the old theory that the courts in declaring a law unconstitutional are merely applying the will of the people to their lawmakers. Instead, we hear the pious lauding of the courts as a check on the "passions and frailties" of the people; as the representatives, not of the people, but of "law—impersonal, impassive, and serene in the innermost shrine of the temple" of popular government.†

But the Constitutions are not clear on every point. They

*See Borgeaud: "Adoption and Amendment of Constitutions in Europe and America," translated from the French. New York, 1895; pp. 188-9. This important volume is mainly devoted to American, French, and Swiss constitutions. The author's discussion of the initiative is the best now to be found in English.

†Judge Horace Davis, in monograph cited above.

are susceptible of opposite interpretations. Lawyers differ. The courts of last resort seldom, if ever, render a decision on a constitutional question by a unanimous vote. With such differences of interpretation it is plainly not the Constitution, but the *judges' idea* of the Constitution, that settles the case. Judges are human; they begin as lawyers; they are generally elected or appointed as partizans; the ablest of them have made their standing as corporation attorneys; and, though we gladly acknowledge that they succeed better than the rest of us in forgetting politics and former clients, yet they must have opinions on questions of property and constitutionality. They certainly do extend the scope of the Constitution with the appearance of new industrial conditions. In nothing is this more patent than where they have treated corporations as "artificial persons," and have transferred to them those "natural rights" which the Constitution of the United States grants to "natural persons."

Can it be true that the people's will, expressed in a Constitution drawn up a hundred years ago, when a private corporation was almost unknown, could have anticipated the rights that fifty years later it wished to see bestowed on these artificial beings yet unthought of? We cannot answer this question until we make it possible for the people freely to express their will at the appearance of each new issue of importance. As long as they fail to do this the judges can only do the best they can—declare the Constitution as they themselves believe it. But let us remember that the real decision is merely the judge's *opinion*, in place of the legislature's opinion, of what the law ought to be.

The apparent solution of the matter is to make the Constitution promptly amendable by the people. In Switzerland this is nothing more nor less than the *initiative*. I am not ready to say that the initiative as now formulated in Switzerland is satisfactory. The Swiss themselves, while unanimously in favor of the referendum, are somewhat disappointed in the existing initiative. Those who favor it in general are willing to amend it in details. The referendum is negative. It is a check—a

veto. By its provisions every important act of the legislature must be submitted to popular vote for final acceptance or rejection. But the initiative is intended to be positive. By it a small number of citizens can draw up a bill, present it to the legislature, and require a popular vote upon it without amendment. The legislature can express its opinion and submit an alternative bill at the same time; but it cannot obstruct the petitioners' bill. This criticism of the initiative does not strike its principle. The initiative in some form is the necessary complement of the referendum. It has indeed done its best work where it has served as a perpetual power of repealing laws (whereas the referendum proper must be voted within thirty or sixty days), or where it has forced the legislature to take action and to present to the referendum some kind of a bill. But the initiative does not directly accomplish progressive legislation. The Swiss radicals are especially disappointed in it. Petitions are drawn up by small fractions of the people; sometimes they are whimsical and abstract, and are nearly always voted down. But I consider this one of the truest guarantees of the initiative. It is the strongest justification of the position taken by those who hold that lawmaking is soundest when it most frankly trusts the people.

Direct legislation in Switzerland has abundantly shown that the people are safer than their rulers. Extremists have no hope in them. They vote down the bills of both reactionaries and radicals. This is true not merely in the country districts but also in the cities, where the unpropertied working classes are supposed to show disregard of property rights. Direct legislation gives voice and influence to the great mass of home-loving, peaceable, industrious people, who make little agitation and who are not heard in the ordinary clamor of politics. Such people are fair-minded and love justice. They want only what they can earn, but they want it themselves. They are the bulwark of democracy. They cannot be crowded or dazed. They wait until they understand. Yet in the long run, at the second or third voting, it is found that they are ready to accept progressive measures. They voted down government railroads

twice, partly because of the exorbitant price the legislature agreed to pay to the private owners; but finally, when the question reached the stage where it excited almost no discussion, they voted in its favor by a large majority. So with other measures. Says M. Stüssi, in his notable account of direct legislation in the city of Zürich: "All laws useful to the canton have been accepted, even those which demanded considerable money sacrifices from the people. No law which would really have advanced either moral or material progress has been definitely laid aside. In those rare cases which seem to contradict this conclusion, the referendum has simply displayed its inherent ultra-conservative character and delayed an advance which would seem to most to be too rapid."

The foregoing discussion is intended to show that many of the arguments usually advanced for and against direct legislation miss its true position. Direct legislation is not strictly a means of legislation: it is a check on legislation. But none the less it is the most urgent proposition before the American public. While theoretically basing our government on the will of the people, we have been experimenting for a century to find a machine that will run itself independently of the people. But government is not merely a nice set of checks and balances, of vetoes and counter-vetoes. It is the outcome of the whole life of the people. The executive veto and the judiciary veto are irritating substitutes for the people's veto. Yet too much must not be expected from direct legislation. It is to be classed, not with legislation proper but with such devices as the secret ballot, the official primary, the corrupt practises acts. Its urgency is not as a means of bringing in reforms, but as a cure for bribery, spoils, and corruption. These are indeed the pressing evils of American politics. No reform movement, no citizens' union or the like, can fully cope with them. A despotism, a monarchy, an oligarchy, or an aristocracy can be corrupt and survive; for it depends upon the army. A republic or a democracy depends on mutual confidence; and, if bribery and corruption shatter this confidence, it is of all forms of government the most despicable. It can survive only by the army and the police.

The referendum is the only complete and specific cure for bribery. It alone goes to the source of corruption. It deprives lawmakers and executives of their monopoly of legislation. The secret ballot, official primaries, civil service reform, proportional representation—these are all needful, but they leave to a few the monopoly of government and the power to sell at a monopoly price. If they should all be adopted, the immense interests dependent on legislation will pay not less but more money, and will control them. Even public ownership of public enterprises, although it ultimately destroys the largest corruption fund, must first be brought about by legislation; and this will be the signal for exorbitant prices and a carnival of bribery more profligate than any hitherto seen.

With the referendum the use of money, whether honest or corrupt, will be almost abolished. The main objection to the referendum is that it defeats sound reforms as well as "jobs," because the people lack confidence in their lawmakers. In the long run it is too conservative. It will disappoint the radicals who now advocate it. The conservatives who now oppose it will be its hottest champions. The initiative will give but little help in this direction. Other reforms, particularly proportional representation, are needed for progressive legislation. But that is in the future. Bribery and corruption must first be settled. Every citizen, whether conservative or radical, can unite at once on the referendum—the only death-blow to bribery. The political machine and the boss will then go, too; for they will have no corporation treasuries to feed upon. After that we can think of positive reforms.

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CURRENCY REFORM.

AS a part of the proceedings of the American Economic Association, at its meeting at New Haven, December 28, 1898, we have the report of the Committee on Currency Reform. It is to be regretted that this report was not subjected to a more thorough discussion by the Association than it received; for it is believed that if it had been it would not have gone out with the appearance even of having the sanction of the Association. The Committee, however, distinctly state that "the Association assumes no responsibility for the views here set forth." This affords partial relief, at any rate, for the Association itself from responsibility for the report; but a full discussion by the Association, it is hoped, would more explicitly have relieved it from the appearance of lending its sanction to the views on currency regulation expressed in the report. For, notwithstanding the distinguished names signed to it,* that such a report should come from any scientific association can excite only surprise. It is certainly the first instance on record in which an economic association has lent countenance even to the principle of Lawism in the regulation of a paper currency.

The fundamental principle in the system of John Law was that things having value in money may be made into money equal to their value. That is, lands, bonds, bank assets, etc., having value in money, may have currency issued upon them equal to their value. The Committee include bonds and bank assets in their category of "securities" on which currency issues may be based, but exclude land. Why are bonds and bank assets better security than land? What limit do such securities place upon paper currencies that land does not? Land is limited, but there is no assignable limit to bonds or bank assets.

*The Report is signed by F. M. Taylor, University of Michigan; F. W. Taussig, Harvard University; J. W. Jenks, Cornell University; Sidney Sherwood, Johns Hopkins University, and David Kinley, University of Illinois.

Of all modes of limiting or securing currency, bank assets are perhaps the most unsubstantial and unsafe. They have been recommended because they were easily provided, and for that reason they have been by some termed "liquid securities"—and not infrequently, and especially in times of panic, they pass suddenly from the liquid to the gaseous state.

It is, however, to bank assets as a means of regulating the supply of currency that I desire particularly to direct attention. The idea that a thing can be owned, used, bought, and sold as property, and at the same time be made into dollars to be added to the volume of currency, is so unscientific, not to say absurd, as to excite wonder that it should find support among economists anywhere. Gold and silver, when coined into money, cease to be anything but money. Gold is not held as property by one while another uses it as money. But it is proposed in this report to allow mere evidences of debt—for that for the most part is what bank assets consist of—to be held as the property of a bank on which interest is derived, and at the same time be *duplicated as currency to circulate as money*. The essence of Lawism, as stated, is that a thing may be owned as property and at the same time be made into money by which its own price as property is to be measured; and to admit evidences of debt into the category of things that may be converted into currency is to give sanction to Lawism in its wildest and most vicious form. Wild-cat banking in this country, fifty years ago, grew out of the adoption of this very principle. Seventy years intervened between the Mississippi Bubble and the French Assignats—seventy years from Law to Mirabeau; but it is less than fifty years from wild-cat banking in the United States to this indorsement by a committee of an economic association of the principle upon which wild-cat banking was carried on.

No language in condemnation of such a recommendation can be too severe. As a principle on which to regulate a paper currency it has no support whatever in economic science, and stands condemned whenever and wherever it has been put to the test of practical experience. The Committee evidently had

in mind, chiefly if not solely, the idea of security of the notes put out. But it was long ago pointed out that security of final payment of notes, intended to circulate as money, was not such regulation of quantity as would secure stability of value. It is but another instance of proposals like those referred to by Ricardo in his testimony before the Parliamentary Committee of 1819, in which he said:

"Plans for an improved system of currency are frequently laid before the public, which rest entirely on this fallacy: The exclusive object of these systems is to obtain for the paper currency to be issued under them a greater degree of security than that which is supposed to attach at present to the notes of the Bank of England. This end the authors of these schemes generally propose to accomplish by contrivances which they deem to be extremely ingenious, but which always resolve themselves into the simple plan of making property of some kind or other the basis of the circulation. Sometimes the plan suggested proposes to issue a paper currency against the security of land, sometimes against the security of a public debt, and sometimes against merchandise in the docks; but, having provided for the security of the notes, the plan generally terminates at this point—the projector apparently conceiving that he has satisfied all the *desiderata* of a good paper currency, although he has introduced no specific measure for regulating the amount of that currency and maintaining its value relatively to the currencies of the other countries of the world."

The Committee lay much stress on the need of an *elastic* currency, and admit that the issue of currency on bonds does not permit the elasticity desired; for when notes are once issued on bonds they are out to stay until the bonds are taken up and the currency retired finally. But the Committee do not explain how notes issued on bank assets would be more *elastic* than if issued on bonds or on land. Indeed, it would have been far more satisfactory if the Committee had undertaken to explain just how an elastic currency operates—on what principle it expands and contracts in answer to the "wants of trade." The Committee first assume that a currency will naturally expand and contract of itself in answer to demand for more or less money. They reason that when prices rise and business becomes more active more currency is needed

and banks should be put in condition to furnish it ; then, when prices fall and business activity declines, currency, they assume, will naturally return to the vaults of the banks. This reasoning is about as scientific as it would be to contend that an engine having begun to run faster requires more steam, and in that case more should be turned on, and then, for a similar reason, when the engine begins to slow down, not needing so much steam, it should in part be turned off !

The Committee say : "The forces that work respectively for expansion and contraction must have easy and unimpeded action." But how is this action to be controlled ? That is the question. Prices do not rise in advance of currency expansion —any more than an engine starts to run faster before more steam is turned on—but follow it, and having risen they do not fall till contraction of currency takes place, or credit breaks down ; and then the fall is usually precipitous, from panic. If the effect of an increased supply of money were only to sustain business activity, or if it were issued only to supply needs for a greater number of exchanges to be made, there might possibly be devised some automatic adjustment between supply of and demand for money ; but one of the immediate effects of more money is a rise of prices, and this demand never lets up. When prices double, the demand for two dollars is as intense as it was before for one ; hence, no automatic adjustment between demand for money (in response to rising prices) and its supply, when supply is limitless and practically costless, as in the case of paper currency, is possible.

In recommending the basing of currency on bank assets, the Committee say : "The superiority of such a system is further insured by the fact that there is a very close correspondence between the amount of such assets in the possession of the banks and the need of the community for currency—since these assets, like the need for money, vary in amount with the volume of business." This is what the directors of the Bank of England said in 1810, and the reply of the celebrated Bullion Report of that year is a sufficient answer to the same claim presented anew eighty-eight years later. The bank directors had said that "the public will never call for more [currency]

than is absolutely necessary for their wants." The reply of the Bullion Report referred to, after stating that "an increase in the quantity of the local currency of a particular country will raise prices in that country exactly in the same manner as an increase in the supply of precious metals raises prices all over the world," is as follows: "That this doctrine is a very fallacious one your Committee cannot entertain a doubt. The fallacy upon which it is founded lies in not distinguishing between an advance of capital to merchants and an additional supply of currency to the general mass of circulating medium." While this was said of notes issued under suspension of specie payments, it applies also to notes issued on the assets of banks.

But, not unduly to prolong this criticism, suffice it to say that not only has the principle of regulation recommended in this report been condemned and discarded by all enlightened nations for more than half a century, but with it has been abandoned the note-security principle, the bank-reserve principle, and every other device formerly claimed by banks as safe guides for the issue of currency. To the extent that either of these principles operates to limit currency expansion it serves a good purpose; but as principles upon which to regulate money supply, with a view to stability in its value, they have everywhere failed and will fail. Overstone and Peel and the Parliament that passed the act of 1844 were right when they decided that the function of money was of such public concern that its issue could not safely be left in private hands, or its regulation intrusted to private interests; and the right to issue notes intended to circulate as money, by the act of 1844, was taken from every bank in England—even from the Bank of England itself; and the principles relating to the issue of currency then adopted—modified more or less, it is true, as to the particular mode of regulation—have been adopted by nearly all advanced nations. And yet we have in this report a recommendation that the privilege of issuing notes to circulate as money be given not only to the thousands of banks already in existence but to the thousands more that may be organized, based on bank assets and governed by no regulating principle but the selfish interests of the issuers. That is, the assets of

banks, consisting largely of individual time promises to pay, are to be represented by other promises to pay on demand, in the form of notes to circulate as currency—one promise to pay as an asset and another on top of it as currency! Then, on top of this, would come bank credits, represented by checks and drafts. And this is all to be done and at the same time the gold standard to be sacredly maintained!

If the gold standard is to be preserved in this country, some proportion between gold and paper must be established and maintained; and this must be done by forcible contraction of paper, if need be, to prevent the export of gold. When prices are rising and speculation is rife, the demand for currency will always be intense, and in response to this demand it is expected that an elastic currency will expand; and it will expand regardless of the movement of gold, which is sure to be outward when prices rise above the international level of prices. While banks on the seaboard, which are liable to be called on for gold for export, may suspend or contract their note issues at such times, interior banks will pay little heed to gold exports; and if they do, what becomes of elasticity? For that is the very time when under that principle more currency is required to "sustain prices and supply business wants."

To insure the permanency of the gold standard under all circumstances, some proportion between gold and other forms of currency must be established and maintained. The supply of gold is regulated by natural conditions: first, by the yield of the mines, and then by outflow and inflow in answer to trade conditions. If the supply of paper currency, on the other hand, which is designated to supplement or take the place of gold, be limited only by considerations of profit to its issuers, how are they to be held together—the one regulated as to quantity by natural laws, or laws of trade, and the other only by the interests of those who issue it? This would be like attaching the governor of one engine to the fly-wheel of another and expecting both machines to run together. It is risking nothing, but is simply conforming to well-established principles of monetary science and to the experience of every country that has tried it, to say that, under such a system of currency

regulation as is recommended by this Committee, neither the gold standard nor any other standard worthy the name could be long maintained. To make the gold standard secure, other forms of currency *must* be so limited and regulated as to insure at all times a safe proportion between such currency and gold. Whether the British principle of making the paper vary exactly as a purely gold currency would vary is necessary or best is not here under discussion; but some principles of regulation that will duly equate the paper to the gold *is* necessary, and that must be some other than the right of thousands of banks to put paper out at discretion, or as their interests alone may dictate, and with no limitation but the amount of their assets.

The recommendation of the Committee of the principle adopted by Germany for the supply of currency in time of panics is of a different order and worthy of commendation, but strangely out of accord with their other recommendations. Such emergency currency is made necessary by the sudden breaking down of credit, and the consequences of the destruction of credit would be greatly intensified if the currency itself should fail, as it did in wild-cat banking days, and as it surely would again if issued in the same way or on the same principle.

The Committee say at the outset of their report that they have agreed upon a method of reform in the currency "which they believe would command the assent of economists generally." On the contrary, I do not believe that any statesman of high rank in any country of Europe can be named who, since the discussions following the Bullion Report of 1810, would recommend the adoption of such a currency system as the Committee present, or even consider it; nor an economist of distinction on the other side of the ocean, since Ricardo wrote, who would give it his indorsement; and, notwithstanding the high reputation of those who sign this report, I am not willing to believe that the recommendations of the Committee will be generally indorsed by economists in this country.

A. J. WARNER.

Marietta, O.

THE COLLEGE MAN IN POLITICS.

THERE has been of late considerable discussion concerning the value of the college man in politics, and the value of the political organizations that have been set on foot in connection with the great American seats of learning. These opinions have not found their way into print so readily as when the idea was first mooted; yet what has been written has been largely in laudation of these political clubs as of yore, and in eulogy of the college man himself—as if he had taken his proper place in the great discussions of the day, and the country were the better for it. There was to be no more governing by theory alone, for the college man was henceforth not only to study this side of the question from his text-book but to look out on the broad world from time to time and see what human experience has taught. The fundamental principles governing economics were, in a word, to be instilled into his mind by the professors, and he was also expected to study their application by the data supplied by all trustworthy sources outside, as well as from lectures and addresses by well-known statesmen invited from time to time to speak on the leading topics of the day. By such means it was thought he would better fit himself for the proper performance of those public duties he unhesitatingly should, and if his country is to retain her prestige and power must, undertake in the future, in order for him to be considered a good citizen with a handle to his name and his training of any value at all.

"Before I will enter into politics as a profession," said a very able college-bred man ten years ago, "I would rather feel and know the delights of 'The Village Blacksmith,' as it appears in song, or such experiences as we read of in the 'Cottier's Saturday Night.' "

There are many good college men to-day pursuing their various vocations who foresaw the outcome of the late war and the President's reason for leaving the whole responsibility

to Congress. There are those to-day who believe that we have needlessly embarked on a policy of imperialism directly opposed to the spirit of the Constitution. We went to war for "Humanity," they say, and ended by demanding a commission to inquire into the treatment of our own soldiery. We went to free the Cubans, and our soldiers and sailors remembered the "Maine"—all in the name of "Humanity." We have repeatedly thrown at Great Britain's teeth the famous "Monroe Doctrine," and have concluded a humanitarian war by demanding possessions that, according to the doctrine set forth, would make us at least a very insincere nation. "To the victors belong the spoils" seems to be a new departure in our foreign policy since Admiral Dewey showed the way by his brilliant achievement in the harbor of Manila; and though we have successfully demonstrated our power to maintain the honor of the American flag against all comers who dare to insult it, we have embarked on a policy of imperialism entirely opposed to all previous ideas and aims. The people who argue this way may be few in number, but they have certainly a right to their opinions; nor should they be deemed un-American because they object to any departure from our traditional policy, or because a declaration of war at the outset they considered unwarranted on the pretext given. Many who argue this way would have been better satisfied if the "Maine" catastrophe had been made the chief reason for our splendid humiliation of Spain; and such reason would certainly have pleased the jingoes among the over-zealous college students who had a good deal to do with forcing the hand of Congress, together with "yellow journalism"—always on the alert for its opportunity for sensations.

All this does not prove that we were wrong in the stand that we as a nation have taken, or that the college-bred men, who have certainly done their share in bringing the war to a successful issue, were unwise or unpatriotic—though to the unprejudiced it does seem that the imperialistic policy we have embarked upon is hardly in keeping with the alleged objects we had in view when war was declared. Yet at the present

time the colleges are heartily in sympathy with this new policy, and have suddenly become deeply interested in European ideas, without considering where it may land us or what endless complications and entanglements we may be called upon to face in the near future.

Again, harking back to the last Presidential election, the political clubs attached to the colleges were all in favor of monometalism, with the exception of a few members whose voices were hushed in the overwhelming majorities opposed to the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16-to-1; yet with the entire volume of the press opposed to the new policy adopted by the Democratic party, excepting one or two papers more or less influential, and with all the wealthy bankers and monopolists straining every nerve and using their wealth to bring about the election of the champion of monometalism, W. J. Bryan, with his band of volunteers, came within an ace of beating the tremendous combination arrayed against him. Had he been elected, certainly the college-bred man would not have been able to claim credit for any part in bringing about so desirable a result. The masses may have been wrong, but usually they have their way in the long run; and if the great colleges of Great Britain are any criterion, the college-bred men have usually been found in opposition to any suggested experiment or reform that is devised purely in the interests of the great army of bread-winners.

A few years ago the organization of a college club for active campaign duty would have been regarded, not only as a very difficult task, but as abrogating the proper functions of college life and likely to create rivalry if not animosity between the members of a nature quite antagonistic to the purposes for which the universities were created and endowed. Nor has the outside public taken kindly to these organizations in some quarters, which have been dubbed as aiming at the dislodgment of all instructors of political economy in American institutions who favor or teach the principles opposed to the wealthy classes. It is not difficult to see that, if a professor is to hold his position, he must pretend to be in sympathy with

the doctrines advocated by the powers that be, even though he knows them to be wrong; in other words, the election or dismissal of certain professors may arise, not for their ability or incompetency as exponents of long-established or incontestable theories, but because of their well-known attachment to a particular party either in favor or otherwise with the preponderance of opinion within the college walls and with those who make the appointments. That both parties have been anxious to secure this formidable aid, especially at election times, goes without saying, and where one party has so insignificant a following, as in the last Presidential election, as to be rendered practically *hors de combat*, it is not to be wondered at if the opposite side is called down for exerting undue influence, transgressing academic rights and functions, etc.

Naturally enough, five or six years ago the permanent organization known as the "American Republican College League" received the sanction and energetic approbation of the Chairman of the National Republican Committee and his associates at that time. These, we are told, devoted personal attention to furthering the interests of the scheme, foreseeing the advantages that would accrue from this source. It was not long before the Democratic students in such colleges as Harvard, Cornell, Princeton, Amherst, Palo Alto, and a few others of high standing began to form into line for the purpose of coöperating with the national association in its work. The Republicans also extended their organization. On the face of it, it does not seem that the college Democrats made themselves very much felt during the Bryan campaign, evidently because they were not in sympathy with the popular idea. It does not follow by any means that these organizations, if properly directed, may not exert a very powerful influence in the consideration of all economic problems in the future. The chief danger consists in the probability that in all colleges in course of time the governing body, the instructors in every branch of learning, and in fact the whole curriculum will have a strong leaning toward party instead of national interests—will see through the "spectacles of books" only those theories

that from tradition favor the interests of the party to which they and their near kin are attached, or in which they have the best opportunities for distinction.

As years pass, it is greatly to be feared that each of the colleges will be associated with a particular party altogether opposed to every idea of change and reform except what savors of Old Country "Jingoism," a false patriotism used to befuddle the masses. This is the case to-day in the older universities of England, where there is good reason for the "high imperialism" aimed at by many modern statesmen. For the universities of Oxford and Cambridge to return to Parliament any but Conservatives would be regarded by a large proportion of the nobility and clergy as a stain on the national as well as the academic escutcheon; yet it is a fact that until quite recently Conservatism has been directly opposed to every idea of popular reform—until the laboring classes rose *en masse* and by sheer force of numbers wrung from the Tory party their legitimate demands. It cannot be lack of intelligence that produces this state of things in the colleges, but the fact that the majority of students belong to wealthy families that have their ancient dignity to maintain. If a similar state of things should unhappily crop up in the academic institutions of America, the college man will find himself regarded with a considerable amount of suspicion; and Republican principles—in some respects corresponding with the Conservatism of England, as representing a traditional policy in the interests of the moneyed and privileged classes—predominating over Democratic popular representation, will be weakened by this movement and the true purposes of all learning in some measure frustrated.

No citizen will dare to say that the college man is lacking in patriotism, or that he is not prepared to lay down his life for his country, in view of the sacrifices made by the colleges during the late war; but those in the full vigor of early manhood—brave, daring, and athletic, full of chivalrous ideas, and anxious to win their spurs—having once had a taste of the romance attached to the hardships of war with all its glories, are

too apt to forget the miseries it entails. And because we have triumphed over a poor, bankrupt nation, in a manner truly to astonish the world, the colleges have openly declared in favor of imperialism—contrary to all past traditions—which may involve us at some future date in a war far more terrible to contemplate, even though an alliance with Great Britain were secretly formed. Surely the American people have enough territory and a sufficient population to care for without uselessly and needlessly becoming embroiled in the affairs of other countries!

There are many reasons that operate against the college-bred man and make him more or less a failure in politics. In the first place, strange to say, he is too much of a gentleman, as a rule, to be adapted for all the trickery and chicanery necessary in the make-up of a successful politician, as matters go to-day. Moreover, he is generally too much in accord with the sympathies and tenets of the privileged classes. It is one of the most frequent complaints of the day that the better class of people, especially the educated men, do not take an interest in public affairs. In the first place, the college man is not usually of a sufficiently practical turn of mind to attract public attention or deserve public trust. The workmen of to-day have no use for mere book-worms, and rather regard men of learning as beings too superior to care for or understand their necessities. As a consequence, they prefer, for the most part, those who belong to their own class, who are more "squeezable," and have been brought up among them and worked with them. Besides, it is difficult for the educated man to shake off his air of superiority and commit himself to all the hypocrisies incidental to the early commencement of a public career. A well-known politician once said that the great art in politics lay in knowing how to be "all things to all men," which, of course, will bear two constructions—the college man being bred to a refined understanding of the wrong one. Another statesman said, "Politics is a game in which the winner shows himself an adept in the art of getting into place."

College men themselves say the true cause of their failing

as politicians arises from the fact that they have the utmost difficulty in obtaining the support and countenance of party leaders, and that the latter invariably view them with more distrust and prejudice than the working classes, who have a more natural motive for their lack of sympathy. There is a strong reason for this. The government of to-day has become a government by party, which has made it impossible to get from our Senators and Representatives—nay, the people—their wise thought and action, so as to insure the best results of their combined wisdom. Every measure is made a “party question,” which is opposed from the other side lest their political enemies may gain votes through having done the people good service. Able men, with honest intentions, once honored with political distinction, are driven by the pressure of this vast machinery to serve a party and not the people, whether they wish it or not, or render themselves liable to political ostracism. No man can, in fact, even be chosen to an office without a party nomination, or have a party nomination against the will of the party leaders. He must have no opinions that are not in accord with the party platform, nor introduce any innovation that is not first submitted to, and approved and adopted by, these aforesaid leaders. Without their backing he has no chance whatever, and he must either be prepared to subscribe liberally toward the development of the ever-increasing, costly, intricate, and tyrannical machinery that is kept perpetually in motion for the purpose of controlling and carrying elections, or he must evince a willingness to support certain private interests as the delegate of the privileged few—who have their trained lobbyists and legislators in every law-making assembly, from the Senate of the nation to the town council of every considerable town in the land. At the commencement of his career, in most States, he has no chance until he makes himself thoroughly acquainted with the liquor interests and pays regular visits to the saloons, where many of the caucus meetings are held and party conspiracies hatched. To fight against these, which do more to corrupt our politics than aught else, is to invite certain defeat and political ex-

tinction. In fact, the party organizations have become systems of trading for office and in office; and politics, instead of being the highest and noblest of professions, is regarded with indifference and even contempt by the sober, intellectual, and upright men who, perhaps once eager to enter into the fascinations of public life, have been kept out by party leaders as "dangerous," and in the despair of repeated defeats have preferred elegant leisure to the sacrifice of their manhood to pandering and corruption.

But, if taken in the proper light, this unhappy state of things should really spur on the thoughtful student to a higher and more determined effort. There is a strong indication of a change for the better. Our election laws are liable to undergo a great change. The obstacles are surely not so insurmountable that combined energy on the part of all the colleges may overcome them. The year 1900 may see a purer method of voting, in which bribery, intimidation, and ballot-box stuffing will be impossible. There are many subjects pressing for attention at the present time, not the least important being that of party slavery, which has been carried to such extremes in some States that the party leaders, as in Pennsylvania, have been afraid of adopting a more secret method of voting for fear they should lose control of the so-called independent vote. In this matter every intelligent student is interested, and no one feels its disastrous effects more sorely than he whose training should make him sought after on all the great issues of the day, but who is for the reasons given shut off in the race. Great prizes and public distinctions should be the reward of faithful public service, not of faithful party slavery. It is high time that a little more moral life was infused into the business, and that the laws of the land, especially those framed to meet grave social dangers, should be administered without party bias—in other words, that lawmakers should not be permitted to become lawbreakers.

In the face of all this, the necessity for regarding politics as a profession, for which a thorough political and moral education is requisite in those who aspire to become lawgivers and

public benefactors, has become so increasingly felt from day to day that the future advancement of the people depends entirely thereon. Not every one called upon to fill official positions can become a statesman—not every one will have a political education in the highest sense; but, if a knowledge of politics is imparted to every student in school and college, the coming generations will know enough of the broad principles of government to test would-be representatives—and to require that they shall have sufficient knowledge of the profession to enable them to discharge their administrative duties intelligently.

Politics is properly a profession, and should be regarded as the highest of all learned professions, for in the administration of government the uses of education should reach the furthest possible stretch of human endeavor. On that administration, the peace, the morals, the prosperity, and the liberty of the people are dependent; and if the ends of government are to attain the fullest share of happiness for the greatest number, it is abundantly clear that no more honorable calling is possible for any enlightened being to pursue. If the character of an administration depends on the political education of those selected to conduct it, as it would certainly seem to do, the importance of the subject is self-evident. A thorough knowledge of the intricate machinery by which this country is governed should be acquired by every student who aspires to political distinction—the separate and differing State Constitutions and the written Constitution of the national government: its arrangement, adjustment, practical uses, and possibilities. He should be constantly watching the effect produced by this machinery and the outgrowth when in action under the operations of natural force, as it may be impressed in contact with other agencies—studying the vast capabilities and uses of the organism, and the adaptation of the outgrowths to the ends of just and progressive government.

While it is necessary to ally himself with some political party, he should remember that political parties were originally organized and intended as a means to political ends, those ends

being the physical and mental welfare of the nation in its struggles to become a real land of liberty. It was not expected that any true patriot should, or could, sacrifice cherished principles at the bidding of party leaders. To sever from a party because opposed to its principles was not traitorous, and should not be considered disloyal, where the purpose is fixed, honest, and patriotic. A true party is composed of all those who think alike on any political policy or national expediency, acting together as a unit for the time being, not of time-serving charlatans, empirics, or sycophants seeking the emoluments of office and ready to support any measure at the bidding of one or two more cunning and often more corrupt than the rest.

The colleges are certainly doing well in taking a more practical interest in public affairs. The time is drawing near when the field will be clearer for the college-bred man than it is to-day, especially if he will study sincerely the needs of the great army of bread-winners, who will undoubtedly control the destinies of the country more than they have done in the past, without let or hindrance.

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WOMEN IN HINDU SOCIETY.

In approaching this subject, let us first realize that the women of India form part of a community of 300,000,000 people, in a country two-thirds the size of the United States. Here in America you have all grades of society and all conditions of living; in India the same is true on a larger scale. To report the convict camps of Georgia or the Mormon community of Utah as representing the national life here would be narrow and unjust. Still more so is it to base the moral or social state of all India upon the observations of foreigners in a few provinces.

You have heard a great deal of the condition of women in India; you have read many stories regarding these women, some of which are utterly false, some partially true, and others greatly exaggerated. You have learned from various sources that Hindu mothers throw their babies into the Ganges, where they are eaten by crocodiles. I did not know of this until I came to this country. I used to bathe in the Ganges almost every day, but never saw such a thing in my life. I have traveled in India from near the mouth of the Ganges to near its source, but never heard of such an act, nor did I meet a single woman who threw a living baby into the river. Those who tell these stories ought to know that crocodiles cannot live in the strong current of a river like the Ganges; they live only in water where the current is slow. Perhaps the stories arose from the fact that, in certain places, poor Hindus place dead bodies on the riverside, because they cannot afford the expense of cremating them; and there the bodies may be attacked by dogs, jackals, vultures, etc., or swept into the river.

You are also familiar with the story of the Juggernaut. I was once at the festival where it is used. It is a huge car made of solid wood, nearly four stories high, and is drawn by hundreds of men and women who become excited with religious enthusiasm. There may be accidents on these occasions, when

some of the multitude are run over and killed by the car. From this it is easy to see how the story may have arisen that the Hindus throw themselves under the car of Juggernaut in order to obtain salvation.

We often hear of the severity of Hindu lawgivers in prescribing the status of women. It is true that there are some passages of Manu and other legislators of ancient India that prescribe the status of women in the same spirit as was expressed by the laws of Moses amongst the ancient Hebrews, or by the mythology of Adam's fall, or by St. Paul, the disciple of Jesus. As the Christian world has held for nearly two thousand years that a woman must "obey" a man and consider him her superior, so in India that idea has been dominant. There are to be found such writings as: "Ordinarily, women are not fit for independence, for they are physically weaker than men and must be protected by friends and relatives;" but there are other passages that describe the extraordinary strength and valor that women have displayed in their lives. Manu says: "A woman in her childhood must be protected and taken care of by her parents, in her youth by her husband, and in old age by her sons and relatives." In the same book you will read a protest against that statement. He says: "Such women are truly secure who are always protected by their good inclinations and virtue. No walls nor men can protect a woman who is not virtuous. Virtue, chastity, and purity are the only armor that will protect a woman so long as she lives." The wife of Buddha said, "Good women need no veiling more than the sun and moon."

The exclusion of women from the society of men, which we find in some parts of India, is not due to their religion but to other causes. It came into practise merely for self-defense against Mohammedan brutality. The Purda system, *i. e.*, the custom of not allowing women to appear in public, is not of Hindu origin, but was introduced into India by the Mohammedans. There are many parts of India where the Purda system does not exist at all—where men mix freely with women, travel together, and appear in public with the women

unveiled. Sir Monier Williams writes: "Moreover, it must be noted that the seclusion and ignorance of women, which were once mainly due to the fear of the Mohammedan conquerors, do not exist to the same degree in provinces unaffected by those conquerors." The women of the upper classes have as much influence in family affairs as have those in Europe. "Indian wives often possess greater influence than the wives of Europeans," says Williams, "and one old grandmother will sometimes rule a whole household with a rod of iron."

The Hindu law allows legal powers to women. If you read "*Sakuntala*," one of the best dramas ever written in India (dramas always describe the social condition of the people most accurately), you will find that *Sakuntala* was allowed to plead her own cause at the court of the king Dusyanta, and that she boldly rebuked him after pointing out his faults. The Hindu law allows such privileges to women. Manu says that a wife must take part in all social, civil, and religious duties of a husband. Here is the definition of a wife given in "*Mahabharata*," the great epic:

"A wife is half the man, his truest friend;
A loving wife is a perpetual spring
Of virtue, pleasure, wealth; a faithful wife
Is his best aid in seeking heavenly bliss;
A sweetly-speaking wife is a companion
In solitude, a father in advice,
A mother in all seasons of distress,
A rest in passing through life's wilderness."

A wife does not adopt her husband's name in India, as European wives do. She does not merge her individuality in that of her husband, but retains it. Hindu law allows women a larger share in the management of property than the statutes of most Christian nations. In family affairs (secular and religious), in business transactions, and in trade, a husband can do nothing without permission of the privy council of the female members of the family. Unmarried daughters inherit, equally with the sons, their mother's estate. The special property that a woman gets as a dowry at her marriage cannot be

used by the husband. A wife cannot be held responsible for the debts of her husband or her sons. She must be supported by her husband so long as he lives, even if he goes abroad.

In ancient times, when the country was governed by Hindu kings, the Swayambara system of marriage was very common. It is the system of free choice by the maiden of a husband. When the Hindus lost their freedom they would have been unable to prevent the intermixture of races had such liberty been continued, so they abandoned that system of marriage and adopted that of betrothing their sons and daughters in their youth. The betrothal system, however, is not practised in all parts of India. Where it prevails it is the outcome of a long period of social and political discord. The Hindu religion has *never* sanctioned Hindu girls' assuming the responsibilities of marriage before attaining womanhood. The law of heredity is strictly observed by parents in choosing the husbands and wives of their children—according to their parentage, birth, social position, caste, and personal qualifications. Burnouf says, "Marriage in India was never a state of servitude for women." In Manu we find eight kinds of marriage described and discussed. Among them the contract by courtship is considered not to be the highest and best, because it generally proceeds from the idea of selfish desire and the gratification of the lower nature. Marriage must be based, not on sense pleasures, but on the higher ideal of spiritual union: it must be a sacred bond. The wife is called in Sanskrit *Sahadharmini*; *i. e.*, a partner in spiritual life. This word shows that marriage is a holy bond. God cannot be worshiped and prayers will not be heard if the wife does not join the husband. For this reason we have no divorce in India. Marriage, when based upon spiritual union, needs no divorce law, but always leads to a happy home life. The first duty of a husband, according to Manu, is to adore his wife; to give her everything she needs or desires—as clothes, ornaments, jewels, etc.—and to make her happy. "When women are honored the *devas* are pleased; but all virtue and all goodness leave the family where women are dishonored." Monier Williams says:

"They [wives] are generally loved, and cruel treatment by brutal husbands is unknown." A woman's body must not be struck, even with a flower, because it is sacred. For this reason Hindu law does not allow capital punishment for women.

Another mistaken idea is that Hindu women are never allowed to read or write. Of course, in many cases reading and writing are very limited in extent. They can read in their own vernacular the translations of the epics, and so forth, and they can write letters. There are hymns in the Rig-Veda composed by women *rishis*, or seers of Truth. Malabar boasts of seven ancient sages, and four of them were women. The moral sentences uttered by one of them (Avyar) are taught in the schools as the golden rules of life. The writings of Lilavati, a great female mathematician, are still read in native schools. The higher-class Hindu women always learn to read and write in their own vernacular; but they do not generally pass public examinations.

People in the West are generally mistaken when they say that Christianity has elevated the position of women. To social and physical science and to intellectual culture it is due that the eyes of men have been opened, and they have become more humane and just toward women. The more a nation has shaken off the thraldom of the Church, viewed in the light of theological creedalism, the freer and better have become the women of that nation. Compare the American woman with the Spanish.

To-day fault is found with the Hindus because they do not allow women to read certain portions of the Vedas; yet the Christian councils and popes, echoing the great apostle to the Gentiles, have prevented women not only from becoming priests but also from speaking in religious assemblies or administering baptism. Why is it that to-day only a few women are ministers, and that there is still a prejudice on the part of many against investing them with these rights? On similar points Hindu women are much freer. All wisdom, according to the Hindus, has come from Saraswati, a woman whom every Hindu must revere. The idea of the Motherhood of God is found in India alone; al-

though in America Theodore Parker expressed the same idea, viewing the Personal side of the Deity as Maternal. Ecclesiastical and canon laws have been the source of woman's disabilities. It was Roman law and Roman jurisprudence that gave woman a place far more elevated than that given to her by Christianity. The Christian learned to honor woman from the pagan. The Teutonic tribes, who were barbarians in the eyes of the Christians, held that a queen was as good as a king, and recognized a perfect equality of sex in all domestic and social relations.

Self-burning of widows was a great social evil in India. It was not sanctioned by the Hindu religion, but was due to other causes. It is often said that the "Christian government" has suppressed it; but the fact is, when the Mohammedans conquered India they treated the widows of the soldiers so brutally that the women preferred death to such inhuman treatment. As the Hindus do not bury, but cremate, their dead, when the funeral pyre was lighted it often happened that the poor and unprotected widow threw herself in despair into the fire—committed suicide, in the hope that she would join her husband after death. Some of the priests supported this by perverting the meaning of some spiritual passages. The educated classes strongly protested against the priests who supported this custom (which prevailed only in certain parts of India), and efforts were made to suppress the evil by force; but, as they could not do it without official help, they appealed to the ruling government, raised a large sum, gave it to the officers, and asked the Viceroy, Lord Bentinck, to pass a law against *suttee*, which he did. Thus the evil was practically suppressed by the Hindus themselves, through the help of the British government.

Mrs. F. A. Steele, the author of "On the Face of the Waters," who lived in India for nearly twenty-five years, mixing freely with the Hindus as inspectress of girls' schools in the Punjab, says: "Our standard of civilization is personal comfort—luxury—a thing absolutely unknown in native India. There is scarcely any difference there in the mode of living between the rich and poor. A man may spend wealth on jewels for

his wife, but not on pleasure or personal comfort." "In regard to the general position of women in India, I think it rather better than our own—certainly better than our own used to be. Women in India can hold property, and a widow always gets a fixed portion of her husband's estate. During the twenty-five years I lived in India I never came into personal contact with but one case of a girl going, as the phrase runs, wrong." Mrs. Steele says in regard to child marriages and child widows: "In my opinion child marriages are contrary to the Hindu religion, which teaches that a girl should be of marriageable age before she takes a husband. In the part of India with which I am acquainted—the Punjab—a girl is not married until she is thirteen or even older, and in that country she is a young woman at that age. The result of my personal observation is that marriages in India are singularly happy. There are fewer cases of unkindness and violence than in this country." Mrs. Steele further says: "Education is spreading amongst the women of the lower class in India." This is equally true in the case of the men of the lower classes; there is a general movement at present for the education of the masses. Miss Carpenter, after visiting India, said that the intelligent Hindus were earnest and extremely interested in the question of female education; but that at the same time she was convinced that such a movement must rise from the native Hindu community in order to have success.

The school already started by a native woman has done good; but it is hampered, and will be in its results, by the introduction of sectarian methods into secular education. The Hindus believe in absolute freedom of religious thought; so that anything contrary to this, especially from one of their own people, cannot fail to rouse antagonism to all such methods. In India we do not have the public school system, as in America. We have no free education in India. Eighty per cent. of the people, both men and women, are illiterate and utterly ignorant of material progress, but not of religion and morality. In these they are far ahead of the ignorant masses of America and Europe. They need secular education—in art, science, chemistry, physics, and their practical application to every-day life.

For want of such an education the masses in India do not know how to better their social condition, how to reform social evils, or how to be free from superstition and prejudice of all kinds.

Ardent efforts to convert the Hindu to Christianity have been great obstacles in the way of educational work for Hindu women. They have prevented the orthodox Hindu community from sending their girls to mission schools, or from allowing the women missionaries to enter families, because by their methods they bring discord. The system of education adopted by these workers resembles this: I start a school in New York for the education of your girls and boys, and teach them day by day this lesson: "Whatever your religion teaches is superstitious and false. If you worship or believe in Jesus you will not be saved from eternal punishment. What the Bible teaches is all nonsense; your God is a dead God. This is the only way to heaven, and your forefathers are all gone to hell," etc. How would you like such teachings? Would you send your boys and girls to my school? No; you would not. For the same reason Hindu parents do not like to send their children to the mission schools. Seeing the failure of such methods, the Hindus have now determined to start schools in different parts of India for the education of women, and for giving them secular education, which they actually need, without attacking their religious ideas or destroying their faith. Swami Vivekananda, who is well known in both England and America, has already started such a school in Calcutta, under the superintendence and direction of Miss Margaret Noble, who has gone to India from England for the purpose of helping such a movement. Miss Noble is a highly educated woman, and was an experienced teacher in London. At present she has charge of a kindergarten school for Hindu girls. It is on a small scale for want of funds; but we trust it will gradually grow into a large free school, where women of all ages will obtain free instruction in every branch of learning—thereby enabling them to better their present condition and to enjoy a broader and more useful life.

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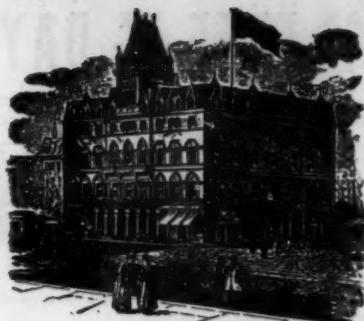
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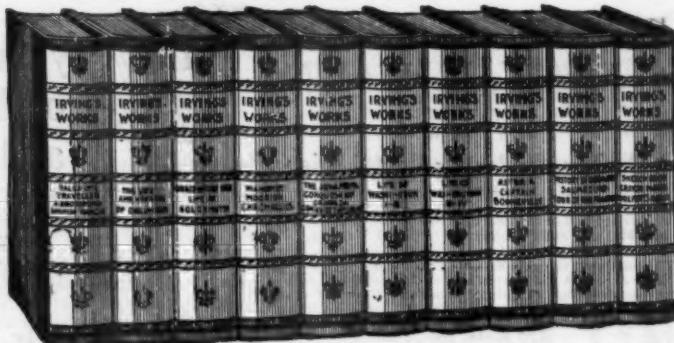
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